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NOTE.—Plates XXXI. and XXXIII. are presented to the Society by W. M. Wylie, Esq. F.S.A.

X.—*Notes on a Picture representing the Three Children of Philip King of Castile, in the possession of Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., F.S.A.* By
GEORGE SCHARF, Esq., F.S.A.

Read May 23rd, 1867.

THE curious triptych figured in Plate XV. appears to have been, in the first instance, a gift from Philippe le Beau and Jeanne la Folle, parents of the children therein represented, to King Henry VII., to commemorate a visit which they unexpectedly paid to this country at the beginning of 1505.

The triptych has been ascertained, by means of a brief entry in an inventory taken for Henry VIII. of goods and furniture deposited in his Palace of Westminster, to have been royal property in 1542. It is there denominated "a folding table," and occurs at the end of a long series of royal portraits.

The triptych itself consists of three arched panels, uniform in size and shape, placed side by side and joined by hinges so ingeniously contrived as to permit them to be folded and laid quite flat one upon the other. Each panel is surrounded by a deeply-moulded frame of the same piece with the rest, and measures 1 ft. $2\frac{7}{8}$ in. in height, $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. in width, and $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch deep. The entire length, when fully open, measures 1 ft. $11\frac{5}{8}$ in. At the back of the central panel is attached a staple or flat hook for the purpose of suspension on the wall.

Each panel contains the half-length portrait of a child, surmounted, in the round-headed space above, by a shield of arms bearing the archducal crown of Austria.* The names of these three children are inscribed over their heads in thin white letters of an ornamental character on a flat pale grass-green background. They read as follows, from the left to right—"MADAME LEONORA," "DUC CHARLES," "MADAME YSABEAU." We, therefore, have before us in all probability the earliest known portraits of the Emperor Charles the Fifth and of his two sisters Leonora and Isabella. Leonora, placed as the elder on his

* Charles's coat is quarterly of four. 1. Austria. 2. Burgundy ancient. 3. Burgundy modern. 4. Brabant. *Surtout* Flanders. In chief a label argent. The shield is surrounded by the collar of the Golden Fleece. The arms above the two sisters are the same, with the omission of the label, and each occupies the sinister side of a lozenge party per pale, the dexter side in each case being left blank.

right hand, was born at Louvain in 1498. She married, first, in 1519, Emanuel, King of Portugal, and secondly, in 1530, Francis I., King of France.^a She finally, in her widowhood, accompanied her brother in his retirement to the monastery of Yuste,^b and died in 1558, but a few months before him.

Charles, only known during his infancy as *Duc de Luxembourg*, was born at the Castle of Gand, in Flanders, 25th February, 1500.^c

Isabella (Ysabeau), or Elizabeth, born 1501, was married to Christian, King of Denmark, afterwards so ignominiously distinguished as the "Nero of the North." She shared her husband's misfortunes, and died prematurely in the Low Countries, January 20th, 1525. She became the mother of the three children whose portraits are contained in a royal picture still at Hampton Court Palace, also recorded in the Westminster Palace inventory, and which during the last century was engraved by Vertue, under the erroneous designation of the children of King Henry VII.^d

This triptych, now the property of Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., of Lower Easington Park, Warwickshire, was recently offered for sale at Willson's curiosity shop, in the Strand.

When Mr. Shirley first drew my attention to it, the names of the personages, combined with the peculiarity of this "folding" arrangement of the tablets, at once associated them in my mind with a curious, and hitherto puzzling, entry in the Westminster inventory of 1542, which stands in full, thus—

"*Item, a folding table, with the pictures of the King of Castell's (Castile's) children.*"

The designation is easily explained when we remember that Philippe le Beau, son of the Emperor Maximilian, and husband of Jeanne la Folle, daughter of Queen Isabella, became King of Castile, in right of his wife, at the death of her mother, in November, 1504.

To judge by the ages of the children here represented, and making due allowance for the fact that in these times painters always made children of high birth appear prematurely old—possibly to compliment them with an appearance of wisdom and depth of thought instead of innocence and simplicity—the por-

^a *Biographie Universelle*, s. v. *Eléonora*, p. 10.

^b Stirling's *Cloister Life of Charles V.* London, 1853, pp. 4, 142.

^c *Histoire Généalogique des Maisons Souveraines de l'Europe*, par. M. V. . . . , Paris, 8vo. 1812, ii. 74.

^d See *Archæologia*, xxxix. 257.

^e Prescott's *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, edit. 1854, pp. 467, 477.

traits belong to the year 1505; that is, during the period between the succession of Philippe to the crown and his embarkation from the Netherlands in January, 1506, to take possession of his new kingdom.

As a work of art, the triptych is not likely ever to have been held in any particular esteem. That such at least was the case during the period of its deposit at Westminster from 1542 to 1547, may be gathered from the inventory above quoted, in which all paintings of superior artistic interest and value are distinguished by the addition of a "curteyne of yellow and white sarconette paned together" to protect them. In connection with this picture no such protection is recorded.

The style of painting is dry and timid, the colouring, especially of the flesh, chalky, but the folds of the draperies are well conceived, and bespeak the influence of a superior master. Some of the colours of the dresses appear to have been brightened by the application of fresh "glazings;" but the faces and hands, poorly enough drawn and modelled in the first instance, have escaped injury and reparation or improvement, to an unusual extent. As usual with pictures of the Flemish school, the golden ornaments, both chains, rings, and other articles of jewellery are entirely free from gilding, and are expressed chiefly by a pale yellow colour laid on with considerable thickness. The background also is of such a very pale hue that, at first sight, the thin white letters of the names upon it are almost entirely lost.

On the 8th of January, 1506, Philippe le Beau and Jeanne la Folle embarked on board a splendid and numerous armada, and set sail from Middelbourg, a port in Zealand. A furious tempest scattered the fleet soon after leaving the harbour; but the King's ship, completely disabled, was driven into the English port of Weymouth.* King Henry VII. on learning the misfortune of Philippe and his consort, promptly showed them every mark of respect and consideration. They were escorted in magnificent style to Windsor, and remained there under circumstances of dubious hospitality nearly three months. When the Flemish fleet had refitted and assembled at Weymouth, the royal pair once more embarked, and reached Corunna, after a prosperous voyage, on the 28th of April.

It may be deserving of incidental remark to note that from the circumstance of King Philippe's unexpected arrival in this country the illustrious house of Russell first rose into celebrity. The King and Queen of Castile on landing at Weymouth were munificently entertained till King Henry invited them to Court

* *Biographie Universelle*, s. v. Philippe, p. 147.

by Sir Thomas Trenchard, a resident in that part of the country. Sir Thomas had promptly summoned his neighbour and relation Mr. Russell, then newly returned from his travels, to wait upon them. King Philippe was so taken with his conversation that he desired he might enjoy his company to the Court, in which journey, "being much affected with his learned discourse and generous deportment," he recommended him to King Henry as a gentleman fitly qualified to serve him in some considerable station; and he was thereupon taken into great favour, and made one of the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. ^a

Bacon, in his history of the reign of Henry VII., affords some interesting particulars of the intercourse maintained between the sovereigns during this sojourn at Windsor. The close of the visit is thus recorded :—

"Meanwhile King Henry (to draw out the time) continued his feasting and entertainments, and, after he had received the King of Castile into the fraternity of the Garter, and for a reciprocal had his son the Prince admitted to the order of the Golden Fleece, he accompanied King Philip and his Queen to the City of London; where they were entertained with the greatest magnificence and triumph that could be upon no greater warning. And as soon as the Earl of Suffolk^b had been conveyed to the Tower (which was the serious part) the jollities had an end, and the Kings took leave." ^c

In a former contribution to the *Archæologia*,^d describing some historical portraits, still preserved at Windsor Castle and Hampton Court Palace, I had invited attention to the great value, for the purpose of identifying the older portraits of the manuscript catalogue of pictures belonging to Henry VIII. in Westminster Palace in 1542. At that time, as only a very partial notice of this record had been made known, I ventured to urge the desirability of having the whole of that inventory, so far as related to the paintings and sculptures, carefully printed. Walpole, in his *Anecdotes of Painting*, had given a few extracts of some of the most characteristic entries, and Dallaway subsequently enlarged the selection in an appendix added to the first volume of his edition of the *Anecdotes* published in 1826. The earlier manuscript, 1542, is in the Record Office, Chancery Lane (vol. 160 of Miscellaneous Books of the Augmentation Records). The later MS., dated 1547, is in the British Museum, Harleian MS. 1419.

Speaking of this interesting document, Walpole observes : ^e "In the Inventory

^a Collins's *Peerage*, ed. 1779, i. 245.

^b Edmund De la Pole, beheaded 30th April, 1513.

^c Bacon's *Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seventh*, ed. 1622, p. 225.

^d xxxix. 248, 264.

^e *Works of the Earl of Orford*, 4to. 1798, iii. 55.

in the Augmentation Office which I have mentioned, containing an account of Goods, Pictures, and Furniture in the Palace of Westminster, under the care of Sir Anthony Denny, Keeper of the Wardrobe, it appears that they called a picture *a table with a picture*; prints, *cloths stained with a picture*; and models and bas-reliefs they termed *pictures of earth*; for instance—

“Item, one table with the picture of the Duchess of Milan, being her whole stature.

“Item, one table with the history of Filius Prodigus.

“Item, one folding table of the Passion, set in gilt leather.

“Item, one table like a book with the pictures of the King’s Majesty and Queen Jane,” &c.

In the “Old London” volume, consisting of papers read at the London congress of the Archaeological Institute, July, 1866, and published in the following year by Mr. John Murray, all the most essential pictorial items of this inventory were inserted in the pages of an essay which I contributed “on Royal Picture Galleries.” To facilitate reference, these were arranged in alphabetical order, and the old spelling of the text, from the volume in the Record Office, was scrupulously adhered to.

Mr. Wornum has, however, since this period, in the completest manner possible, transferred the entire text of the British Museum MS. in its actual order, without change, comment, or addition of any kind, as an appendix to his valuable “Life and Works of Hans Holbein,” 1867. There the items are numbered, and “the King of Castile’s children” stands the fifty-third on that list.

Beyond this entry in the inventory of 1547, although most of the royal pictures may be recognised, passing step by step through the collections of Charles I., James II., and Queen Caroline the Consort of George II., no further mention occurs of the triptych before us. Very imperfect records have been preserved of royal pictures during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I.; but in the year 1639 Charles I. had an elaborate account taken by Vander Doort of all the pictures belonging to the Crown, and to this we vainly turn for any entry or reference corresponding with portraits of the three children before us. All traces from this period had disappeared. In all probability this singularly arranged picture had been withdrawn from the royal collection during the reign of Queen Elizabeth when the Spanish name had sunk into such low esteem.

No brand or mark so generally found on pictures that belonged to Charles I. is traceable on any part of this triptych. When purchased by Mr. Shirley a thick coating of black lacquer covered the entire outside surface of the three panels,

and evidently had been quite recently applied. This was removed in the hope of discovering some brand-mark, monogram, or heraldic device, such as usually appears on the external surface of "folding pictures" and the "sportelli" or wings of the larger altar-pieces in German and Italian churches. Nothing, however, was found beneath the black pigment. The wood itself was of the finest grained oak, and in excellent condition.

The costumes and physiognomy of the figures are curious and merit careful attention. Charles and his younger sister exhibit the Austrian lower lip strongly developed. Elconora has the same peculiarity, but in a very much less prominent degree. Her portraits later in life, as Queen of France, retain the same character, and are, moreover, exceedingly pleasing. Her portrait, holding an orange, is described in the Westminster inventory of 1542; and a large and fine picture in similar costume to the last named, but holding a letter instead of an orange, is still preserved at Hampton Court Palace. In the collection of H.R.H. the Duc d'Aumale is a small and well-executed portrait, also holding a letter.^a There is a similar picture in an oval frame at Longleat, the property of the Marquis of Bath, beautifully finished. A very interesting portrait of her in widow's weeds will be noticed presently. In the girl-portrait now before us she wears a large crimson head-dress with straight edges, covering the ears and terminating in front below in sharp angles. This head-dress is lined with yellow, and covers an arched edging of sharp points or plaiting encircling her natural rich brown hair, parted in the middle above the forehead. Her dress is dark brown, with sleeves close fitting to the elbows, and below them widened and turned up with deep rich crimson. The fair neck is seen through the opening of her square cut dress, covered with interlaced gold cords, and having in front a small circular ornament pendant from a thin cord necklace. A larger rope-shaped necklace, composed of red oval beads ribbed with gold cords, hangs low down from the back of her neck and passes through her right hand. A grey narrow girdle is fastened round her waist. No rings appear on her fingers or on those of her companions. The eyes are dark chesnut brown, and lips a soft pale crimson. The red on the cheeks is remarkably low down. The expression of the eyes, if not actually staring, is decidedly piercing. This plaiting between the hood and the hair may also be seen in the Windsor Castle portrait of Anne Boleyn having a golden letter B and three pearls attached to the necklace. It appears likewise hanging over the shoulders of the portrait of Margaret Beaufort, Countess of

^a In later days the Emperor always addressed her as "Madame ma meilleur sœur."—See *Cloister Life of Charles V.* By W. Stirling. P. 4.



George Scharf, F.S.A. del.

M.&N. Harbort imp.

THREE CHILDREN OF PHILIP KING OF CASTILE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London 1875

Richmond and Derby, at St. John's College, Cambridge, No. 47 of the 1866 Portrait Exhibition at South Kensington, and a portrait of her aunt, Margaret, Archduchess of Austria, at Hampton Court, No. 298 of the catalogue.

The portrait of "Duke Charles," notwithstanding the peculiar formation of the mouth, is more agreeable in expression. The eyes are slaty blue, the hair dark rich brown, cut straight across the forehead, and hanging in long waving locks behind the ears. He wears a yellow tissue cap, with a slight peak at the top, and black lined flaps turned up over the ears. A similar cap to this occurs in his father's portrait at Windsor Castle, which is described in the Westminster inventory of 1542, and again, more fully, in King Charles's catalogue, 1639.^a

The boy's face is seen in three-quarters, turned to his right, towards his elder sister. He wears a deep crimson-coloured gown, faced with black, and yellow close-fitting under-sleeves, with narrow white cuffs at the wrist. A plaited white shirt appears round his neck, within the square-cut opening to his dress, and the collar of the Golden Fleece, composed of flints, steels, and sparks, with a small pendant fleece, lies on the upper broad black trimming in front. The collar is not gilded, but painted with clear yellow on a deep brown ground. He wears no other necklace, chain, or jewellery of any kind. His right hand nearly touches, as if just about to fall upon, the lower part of the frame, which is treated by the artist as a parapet or ledge, so frequently met with in Flemish and German pictures of the fifteenth century.

A youthful profile of Charles, on an imperial medallion, inscribed "REX CATHOLICVS," is engraved in Heræus' "*Bildnisse der Regierenden Fürsten*," plate 17, No. v. His grandfather Maximilian's head is on the obverse. The young king wears a cap similar in shape to that in the triptych, and the style of countenance, with straight cut hair along the forehead, bears considerable resemblance also to the earlier portrait. As Charles did not become Rex Catholicus till the decease of his grandfather Ferdinand, King of Spain, in January, 1516, this profile cannot exhibit him younger than sixteen years of age.

Another portrait of this early beardless period, a medallion carved in boxwood, and now preserved in the British Museum, has been already described in a former contribution to the *Archæologia*.^b It is inscribed, CHARLES · R · DE · CASTILLE · LEEON · GRENADA · ARRAGON · NAVERR · CECILIS.

The next portrait of Charles, in point of age, deserving of notice, is to be found

^a Page 116, No. 43, of Vertue and Bathoe's edition.

^b Vol. xxxix. p. 263.

at Versailles, in a curious group of Maximilian I. and his family, No. 3094 of the catalogue. In this picture, a highly-finished miniature on vellum, he still appears as a boy with smooth chin, black cap, and square cut hair. A considerable advance in respect to age, although still with a beardless face, is the portrait of the Emperor, holding a sprig of rosemary, at Windsor Castle, already described in the *Archæologia*.^a

After this I would place an excellent little panel picture of the Emperor Charles, with delicate thin moustaches and slightly sprinkled beard on chin, at Knowle, in Kent. The left hand is boldly foreshortened, as frequently seen in the works of Van Cleeve, and in the portraits by Janet of Francis I. Here, however, the black hat is considerably reduced in size. The same peculiarities are observable in a small and delicately finished picture at Petworth House. Very similar in appearance and costume is the following:—A large medallion of Charles V. in profile, to the left, wearing a small hat and pointed beard, with his hair gathered in round curls, instead of the long straight-combed hair of the earlier type, engraved in Collas, *Trésor de Numismatique*, folio, Paris, 1841. *Choix de Medailles en Allemagne*, pl. 21, No. 2. The face is turned to the left; only the shoulders are seen, wearing a gown and collar, with the golden fleece hanging at the neck by a short ribbon. It is regarded as the best and most authentic representation of the Emperor in maturity, and is dated AN. ÆT. XXXIII. The lower part of the ear is distinctly shown. The peculiarity of this face, but with more developed moustaches, a fuller beard, and more strongly marked ear, is repeated in a curious medallion, a wood carving at Vienna, showing the Emperor Maximilian with his two sons, Charles and Ferdinand. It is dated MDXXXX.^b

This group corresponds with a picture that belonged to Henry VIII., and is entered in the Westminster catalogue, No. 16 of Mr. Wornum's reprint, in his Holbein volume, thus: "Th'olde Emperouer, th'emprouer that nowe is, and Ferdynando." It continued in the possession of the Crown to the reign of Charles I. and in his catalogue, taken in 1639, the following description was made of it: "Upon the door of the chair-room—the picture of Emperor Frederick, and his son Maximilian Primo, together with another picture, with a golden fleece about his shoulders; all three in one peece. Little half figures. In a wooden frame."^c

^a Vol. xxxix. p. 263.

^b See Arneth, *Monumente des Cabinettes en Wien*, fol. 1858, pl. i. No. 128, and pl. iv.

^c *Old London*, pp. 288, 335. The above description is literally copied from the Harleian Manuscript. Bathoe, p. 119, no. 58, has not merely changed the punctuation, but altered the word Primo into Prince. He has also inserted measurements which do not appear at all in the original MS. There can be little

The same profile, turned the reverse way, with more sharply-defined moustaches and beard, hair in larger curls, and hat considerably diminished, wearing a cloak with broad spreading collar, and holding gloves in his right hand, resting both arms on a cushion, is also in the collection at Vienna. See Arneth, *ubi supra*, pl. i. No. 130, and pl. vi. page 87. It is carved in alabaster, and very remarkable as a work of art. The portraits of Charles V. are so numerous that it would be vain to attempt to particularise even those which may be held to represent the distinctive changes in his appearance. In these pages I can only endeavour to note the most leading portraits which exist of him bearing a positive date or some especial historical circumstances associated with the representation.

Of all the medallie portraits bearing a positive date, the finest and most characteristic personification of the emperor is the one engraved in Collas, pl. xx. No. 5. It is dated ANNO SAL. M.D.XXXVII. ÆTATIS · SVÆ · XXXVII. The profile is turned to the right. He wears a small bonnet, and holds a mace-like sceptre in his right hand, and a ball and cross in his left. The *toison d'or* hangs by a double cord on his breast.

The next record on a medal inscribed ÆTAT. · SVÆ · XLV., with ANNO · M.D.XXXXV · on the reverse, is published in Collas (plate xxi. No. 9), and exhibits a great change in regard to personal appearance. The cheeks have become hollow, the upper lip shrunk, and the nose consequently larger in proportion. The bonnet is fuller, with pendant earflaps, and the sleeves of his mantle are puffed round the shoulders in accordance with the fashion of the middle of the sixteenth century. The profile is turned to the left. The *toison d'or* hangs by a short ribbon in front.

A similar profile, but showing less of the figure, is engraved in Heræus, (pl. xxi. fig. 9). It belongs to the following year, and is inscribed CAROLVS V · ROM · IMP. ANNO · DNI · M.D.XLVI. The head-dress is the same as in the preceding example, but the full collar of the *toison d'or* hangs round his neck.

The face, as seen in the last-named medals, corresponds with two full-length portraits of the emperor painted by Titian. One of these now at Madrid, and lithographed in *The Madrid Museum* by Cajetano Palmaroli, under the direction

doubt that this description is intended for the same picture as L.O. 16 of the Westminster catalogue. Some obvious errors in the 1639 catalogue will hereafter be noticed. In the present instance, the Emperor Frederick would be Frederick IV., husband of Leonora of Portugal, and father of Maximilian, thus shifting the names one generation back, and leaving one to infer that the third "picture" or portrait, would be Philippe le Beau instead of Charles V.

of Madrazo, represents him as a tall, emaciated figure, standing in hat and small feather, with broad fur trimming to his mantle, resting his left hand on the black collar of a large dog. This picture formerly belonged to King Charles I. of England, and thus appears in the catalogue drawn up by Vanderdoort—"Done by Tichian. Item. The Emperor Charles V., brought by the King from Spain, being at length, with a big white Irish dog."^a

The second portrait, a fine figure in black furred mantle, plain bonnet, and plain white falling collar, is seated in an arm-chair holding a paper in his right hand. The picture is in the Munich Gallery, No. 496 of the Pinakothek catalogue. The artist's name, Titianus, and the date MDXLVIII. are inscribed on the background. It has been finely lithographed in *The Munich Gallery*.

A grand picture of Charles V. painted by Parmigiano (Francesco Mazzuoli) was exhibited at Manchester in 1857, No. 210 of the Exhibition catalogue. It is described by Vasari, and we learn from his pages that the portrait was completed without any appointed sitting, after seeing the Emperor dining in public, at Bologna, in the year 1530. (See Le Monnier's edition. Firenze, vol. 9. pp. 129 and 130.) There is no traceable inscription on the picture.

The last portrait of the Emperor that I can venture to name, devoid also of inscription, is a very fine whole-length by Titian. It is still in this country, and was exhibited at the British Institution, by Mrs. Henry Dawson, in 1858, No. 12 of the catalogue.^b He stands on a black and white pavement, wearing a richly ermined mantle, a plain black cap, and black hose and shoes. A dark green curtain is in the background, and a partridge stands at his feet. No date is observable on the picture, but the face is decidedly younger than in the last few named examples. The introduction of the partridge would almost imply that it was painted in the Venetian territory. Mr. W. Stirling observes, in the preface to his *Cloister Life of Charles V.*, that he has been unable to find any satisfactory contemporary portrait of the Emperor in his latter days. He, however, gives on the title page an effective woodcut from the fine print engraved by Æneas Vico.

With the portrait of the boy so fully before us, it has, I trust, been a matter of some interest to follow the course I have laid down, so as to compare the successive changes which the emperor's very singular physiognomy underwent,

^a Page 86, No. 12, of Bathoe and Vertue's edition.

^b See *Artistic and Descriptive Notes on Pictures in the British Institution, Pall Mall, 1858.* By G. Scharf, jun. p. 70.

and to watch those alterations even to the latest times when he became so faint a shadow of his former self in the monastery of Yuste.

It is now time, however, for us to turn to the remaining child—the younger sister Isabella, or Elizabeth — whose open expression and occupation, that of nursing a doll, contrasts so remarkably with the tenour and pursuits of her after life.

Even here, at this early period of her existence, the expression of her eyes can scarcely be said to be amiable. She grew up in later years to be heavy and roundfaced, indicative of indolence, with a short nose and full chin, similar in countenance to her maternal aunt,^a Catherine of Arragon, own sister to Jeanne la Folle, whose portraits are so well known, daughter to Ferdinand and Isabella.

There is also a remarkable likeness between this portrait of the girl with a doll and that of her own daughter, youngest of the three children of the King of Denmark, represented in the group at Hampton Court Palace.^b Among the pictures belonging to Henry VIII., we find in the Westminster inventory a second picture of this princess, taken after her marriage, thus described: “No. 29. Elizabethe of Austrey, Quene of Denmark, with a curtain.”^c

The picture, which is very small, appears still to be in the royal collection at Hampton Court Palace (no. 296 of the catalogue). It corresponds also with the following entry in Vanderdoort’s catalogue of King Charles’s pictures taken at Whitehall in 1639 (page 115, no. 41 of Bathoe and Vertue’s edition):—

“A Whitehall piece. Item. The ninth, being Elizabeth, the Austria Queen of Bavaria, in a golden cloath habit, holding her two hands one over another.”

This picture is one of four nameless portraits, similar in character, still at Hampton Court. In this solitary instance the eyes are of the required colour. The word Bavaria, however, is obviously an error for Denmark, since the rulers of the former were Dukes and Electors, and no Queen of Bavaria existed till very modern times. A portrait exists of this Queen Isabella in profile finely engraved by Jacob Binck bearing date 1523. It is placed side by side with that of her husband Christian II. She wears a French hood with a black veil falling down behind, and an elaborately wrought necklace. The dress is cut square to show the neck. Shields of arms supported by boys are introduced on

^a *Anderson’s Tables*, p. 710, I.

^b *Archæologia*, xxxix. 257.

^c *Old London*, p. 290, No. 21. Wornum’s *Holbein*, p. 383.

each side resting upon columns. The artist's monogram is on the right hand base, and below in capital letters is inscribed

ELIZABET · DANOVVM · REGINA

ET · CE · ARCHDVVIS · AVS · ET · BVR.^a

Her portrait in later life, wearing a richly ornamented dress with high standing frilled collar round the neck, occurs on the reverse of a finely engraved medallion of her husband, Christian of Denmark. Her highly decorated costume resembles that of the reign of Queen Mary I. of England. The inscription round the edge is ISABELLA · MARIANA · CAR(oli) CA(e) S(aris) S(oror).^b

In the catalogue of pictures belonging to King Charles, taken at Whitehall Palace in 1639, is the following curious and inconsistent description of a portrait evidently intended for this lady:—

“A Whitehall piece. The picture of the widow of King Christian II. of Denmark. She was sister to the Emperor Charles V. In a widow's habit, in a black and part gilded frame, so big as the life, half a figure.”^c

Isabella did not live to attain the condition of widowhood, and we find that the King, her husband, survived her thirty-four years.^d

There is, however, no difficulty in identifying the picture above described. It is still at Hampton Court Palace, No. 916 of the catalogue, and represents not Isabella, but the emperor's eldest sister Leonora,^e in the white mourning dress of “La Reine Blanche” so peculiar to France, with which we are familiar by later portraits of Mary Queen of Scots. This remarkable picture is confirmed by a medal of Leonora in her “widow's habit,” engraved in *Heræus*, pl. xxv. No. 10. The corresponding picture of Mary of Hungary, the second surviving sister of the emperor, and also in a widow's habit,^f still remains in the royal collection. It has for many years lain under the erroneous designation of “the Countess of Lennox,” No. 284 of the Hampton Court catalogue, and as such was removed to Holyrood Palace in 1864.^g

^a *Bartsch*, viii. 294, 92; Nagler *Künstler-Lexicon*, s. v. Binck, p. 505.

^b *Heræus*, pl. xviii. No. 21; and plate xxv. No. 14.

^c Bathoe's edition, page 109, No. 10. In this and all other quotations from the Whitehall catalogue, I have corrected the text according to the original MS.

^d It is somewhat remarkable that in two entries relating to this princess in King Charles's catalogue there should be such glaring oversight as to make her a queen of Bavaria, and the survivor of her husband.

^e *Ante*, page 250.

^f *Vander Doort's Catalogue*, printed by Bathoe and Vertue, p. 109, No. 9.

^g See *Old London*, 1867, p. 374.

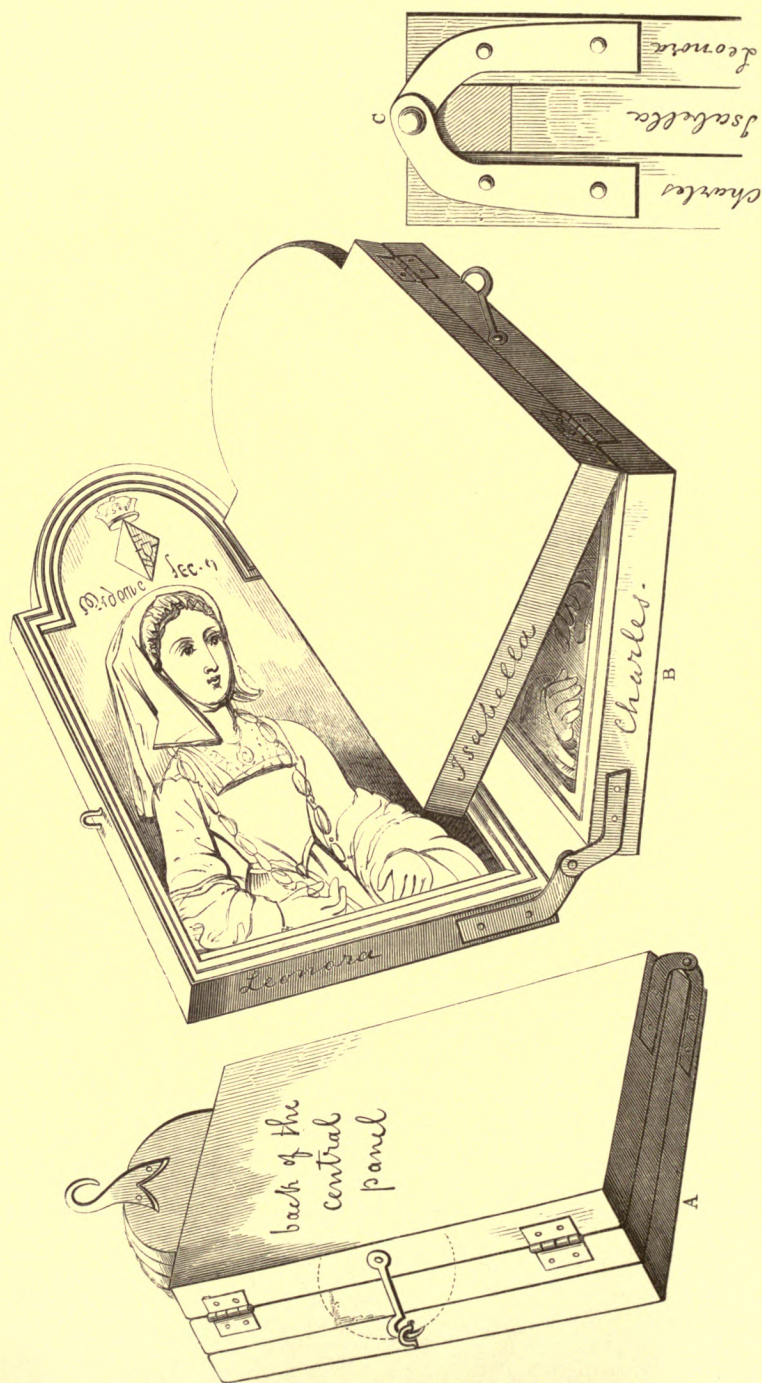


DIAGRAM SHOWING CONSTRUCTION OF A TRIPTYCH FOR PORTRAITS.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1870.

To return to the early appearance of Isabella. We find her in the triptych before us represented as a chubby-faced child in a white coif entirely concealing the ears and hair, and showing nothing but the face. She wears a brown cap over the coif without fastenings of any kind.

The dress is black, with under sleeves of a dark blue green and a broad square white linen covering the bosom, in front of which hangs a golden cross by a yellow cord round the neck. Her eyes are intensely dark chesnut brown. The complexion is fair, with very red lips. A plain grey girdle tied in front encircles her waist. The doll which she carries in her right arm is a feature of considerable antiquarian interest. Like most representations of such imitative objects in early art, it looks quite as real as the children themselves. The dress of the doll, consisting of a crimson robe, laced in front, long sleeves expanding at the wrists and concealing the hands, with a white hood and long plaited pendant behind, seems to belong to a somewhat earlier period than the date of the picture. A singular parallel of the portrait of a child carrying an elaborately dressed doll will be found at Hardwick Hall, in the curious portrait of Lady Arabella Stuart, at the age of 23 months, dated 1577, holding a completely-attired miniature lady in the left hand. The picture has been engraved by G. Cook in Miss Costello's *Memoirs of Eminent Englishwomen*, vol. i. p. 199. It was contributed by the Duke of Devonshire to the Portrait Exhibition at South Kensington in 1866, No. 422 of the catalogue.

The complete preservation of the materials, paint, wood, and metal—particularly the continued easy working of the singularly formed hinges—shows that this curious little monument has been spared many of the vicissitudes to which works of this nature are so constantly liable. It would be very interesting, although now beyond all hope, to ascertain the history of what befel our triptych between the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Victoria, or to arrive at the circumstance which consigned it—perhaps continuously, in some narrow locality—to oblivion during the long period of 320 years. The outlines, in woodcut (Plate XVI.), will perhaps best serve to explain the manner in which the hinges worked, and how compactly the various parts were fitted together.

XI.—*An Identification of the Compiler of a Manuscript in the possession of the Earl of Verulam, relating to a Treaty between King Charles I. and the Parliament, in 1648. In a Letter from JOHN BRUCE, Esq., F.S.A., to C. KNIGHT WATSON, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary.*

Read March 28th, 1867.

MY DEAR MR. WATSON,

On the 29th November, 1860, I had the honour to exhibit to the Society of Antiquaries a folio manuscript belonging to the Earl of Verulam, which contains an account of the Treaty between King Charles I. and the Parliament, held at Newport in the Isle of Wight in the autumn of 1648.

Some observations which I at that time made were afterwards printed in the *Archæologia*.^a In the course of them I stated that there existed three other principal accounts of that Treaty; those written by Clarendon, by Nicholas Oudart, and by Sir Edward Walker—all friends of the King; but that the account contained in the MS. of the Earl of Verulam was that of the Parliamentary Commissioners. I further stated that a passage in Lord Verulam's MS., in which the writer mentioned that the Commissioners gave him a letter they had received from the Speaker, seemed to point to some Secretary or Clerk to the Commissioners as the compiler of the MS.

Since Lord Verulam's MS. was exhibited and my observations were published, I have received from Francis Kyffin Lenthall, Esq., a descendant from Speaker Lenthall, and a gentleman extremely well versed in the history of the Long Parliament, information which clearly establishes who was the compiler of Lord Verulam's MS.

The way in which this fact is made out is somewhat curious.

The Tanner MS. in the Bodleian, No. 57 (2), contains several papers relating to the Treaty of Newport, and among them a series of fragments, evidently leaves torn out of a pocket or memorandum book, and so described in an endorsement. Upon these fragments there are various written notes or memoranda which

^a *Archæologia*, xxxix. 112.

principally intimate that the note-maker had on various specified days written letters addressed to certain persons. Thus :

“ September the 16th. I wrote to the Speaker, and gave him an account of our journey, and what passed to that day; by Hardwicke.”

On Sept. 21st, 25th and 29th there occur similar entries.

On Sept. 30th there is the following :—

“ The 30th I wrote to my uncle Thomas Lenthall, giving him a full account of all the treaty to that day.”

On the

“ 2nd October, I wrote to Mr. Speaker, giving him account of the debate with our ministers &c. to that day; by Capt. Gouge.”

“ 3rd October, I wrote to him again, telling him the whole dispute of that morning, by the post.”

“ 5th October, I gave Mr. Speaker account of all the debates till then, and sent him a copy of the King's scruples, and our Ministers reply thereunto.”

“ 7th October, I wrote to Mr. Speaker, by the post, of all to that day.”

“ 9th October, I wrote to my mother, to my uncle Francis Lenthall, telling him all to that day, and the Monday after, and to Mr. Waller; to my brother Trotman also the same day.”

Omitting several intermediate entries of a similar kind, on

“ 11th November, I wrote to my brother Trotman, my mother, Mr. Waller, Mr. Evelyn, and my sister Frances, and to Mr. Blackborne.”

It is evident from the contents of these memoranda that they relate, 1. To a treaty. 2. To a treaty with the King. 3. Their dates, and the brief allusions they contain to what was passing, establish that the treaty was that of Newport, and therefore that the memoranda have reference to the year 1648. 4. It appears, also, that the writer had uncles of the names of Francis Lenthall and Thomas Lenthall, and a sister named Frances. 5. It is shown by the will of the Speaker Lenthall, contained in the volume of “ Wills from Doctors' Commons ” published by the Camden Society, that the Speaker had two brothers named Francis Lenthall and Thomas Lenthall. It also appears in the Lenthall pedigree (Harl. MS. 1556 fo. 120) that the Speaker had a sister named Anne who was married to Samuel Warcupp of Fulbrooke and afterwards of English, co. Oxford, and in a Warcupp pedigree contained in the same volume (fo. 80) it is stated that Mrs. Warcupp had a family of twelve children, seven of whom were boys, and that among the girls one was named Frances. 6. We find also, that, in the same volume of Tanner MSS. which contains these fragments, there is an original letter of the Speaker,

dated 27th September 1648, and addressed to Sir John Potts, one of the Parliamentary Commissioners at Newport, in which letter the writer states, "I thanke you for kinde acceptance of my nephew. I know by your good instructions he wilbe able to doe you service. What paynes or countenance you bestow shall not be forgotten by your assured freend and humble servant, William Lenthall." 7. It will have been observed that among the persons to whom the writer of the fragments addressed letters on the 11th November, one was "Mr. Evelyn." Now, among the letters of John Evelyn, written under the signature of Aplanos, to his father-in-law Sir Richard Browne, under the pseudonyme of Mr. Peters, there is one dated the 23rd October, 1648, but probably really written on the 23rd November in that year, inasmuch as it commences by acknowledging the receipt of a letter dated the 24th October. In this letter Evelyn states :

" Since my last, I received an express from a correspondent of mine in the Isle of Wight, which gives me great hopes that the treaty may yet produce something like a settlement, which we continually expect in these parts. But what was more than I expected, an enclose from Mr. Warcup (whom Mr. Speaker hath sent thither, to give him an account of proceedings there, and whose letters to him he continually reads in the House), containing many great expressions and tender of service, if in anything there he would be useful to me ; adding, withal, that if I desired a safe convey (*sic*) thither, he would readily procure it. To which (after I had returned him many acknowledgments for being so mindful of me at that distance, and after so long a discontinuance of our acquaintance) I replied,"^a &c.

We need not enter into Evelyn's answer ; but may, I think, upon the information thus gathered together, unquestionably conclude that the writer of the fragments in the Tanner MS. was a nephew of the Speaker, that his surname was Warcup, that he was one of the seven sons of Mrs. Warcup the Speaker's sister, and that he was sent by the Speaker to Newport as Secretary, or in some other confidential capacity, in relation to the Parliamentary Commissioners.

Among the sons of Mrs. Warcup we have not far to seek for the identification of the one who was thus employed. Edmund, the fifth son, of whom we have an account in Anthony Wood's *Fasti* (ii. 325), is the only one who has any claim. This gentleman entered upon life as a Commoner of St. Alban Hall, a little before the commencement of the Civil War, but left Oxford without taking a degree, and passed a considerable time on the Continent, especially in Italy, with which country he became intimately acquainted, and there he probably fell in with Evelyn. During the Cromwellian period we are told that he was engaged in military service, and in 1659 we find him to have been a captain in the regiment

^a Evelyn's *Diary and Correspondence*, iii. 31, ed. 1852.

of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper which took a leading part in the restoration of the Long Parliament and the reinstatement of the Speaker Lenthall. A recommendation at that time of the House of Commons to the Council of State that Edmund Warcupp should be employed in the public service, was probably a token of the Speaker's affection for his nephew. Warcupp on his part testified his good feeling towards his uncle by publishing, early in 1660, a folio volume entitled "*Italy, in its original glory, ruine, and revival, being an exact survey of the whole Geography and History of that famous Country,*" with a laudatory dedication to the Speaker by his Cromwellian title of William Lord Lenthall. After the Restoration Warcupp distinguished himself as an active magistrate in Middlesex, especially in the time of the Popish Plot. In 1663 Oxford conferred upon him the degree of M.A., and in 1670 that of D.C.L.

Finally, he died on the 1st May 1712, at the patriarchal age of 90. He was interred at Northmoor in Oxfordshire, and in the church of that parish there stands a monument to him erected by his daughter Anna Maria Pryce, widow of Sir John Pryce, Bart., in which she commemorates her father as "*Warcupporum ultimus.*" His honours culminated in a knighthood, which he received at Whitehall from the hand of Charles II. on the 15th December 1684.

This then is the Warcupp mentioned by Evelyn as being with the Parliamentary Commissioners at Newport, and the person to whom the compilation of Lord Verulam's MS. may be confidently attributed.

Lord Verulam's MS. was written by some one who stood in the closest and most confidential relations towards the Commissioners. He knew every thing that passed between the King and them. He was present at their interviews with his Majesty and jotted down the King's sharp and pointed sayings. He was entrusted with the care of the papers of the Commissioners, and, whether or not he had the title of their Secretary, he really and truly fulfilled the duties of that office.

All this is realised in the information we now have respecting Mr. Edmund Wareupp. We find him remaining at Newport throughout the whole treaty, writing every three or four days to the Speaker with details of what had taken place, and occasionally sending him copies of important papers which had passed between the King and the Commissioners. Evelyn tells us that these letters were continually read to the House, and Mr. F. K. Lenthall has pointed out to me, that, besides writing the letters to the Speaker mentioned by Evelyn and commemorated in the fragments from the pocket-book, Warcupp did that which seems to prove most clearly not only his confidential but his secretarial character—he wrote with his own hand official letters—perhaps all the official letters—of the Parliamentary

Commissioners to the Speaker. Two of these letters, dated the 16th and the 21st September, are preserved in the volume of Tanner MSS. above referred to (fos. 294 and 300), and are both, as Mr. F. K. Lenthall informs me, in the handwriting of Edmund Warcupp.

These circumstances lead directly to the conclusion that, to say the least of it, it is in the highest degree probable that the Verulam MS., although not as I think in Warcupp's own handwriting, but in that of an ordinary transcriber, was compiled by him. After his return from Newport he no doubt prepared this narrative of the important transactions in which he had been engaged, and furnished a copy to each one of the Commissioners.

I would beg to add that I am entirely indebted to Mr. F. K. Lenthall for all the information contained in this communication. I have inspected the papers at Oxford myself, but Mr. Lenthall directed my attention to them, and lent me his own copies of them. Nothing in this letter but one or two trifling additions to the facts, and the present statement of their contents, is my own.

Believe me,

My dear Mr. Watson,

Yours very sincerely,

JNO. BRUCE.

XII.—*Easter Sepulchres; their Object, Nature, and History.* By ALFRED HEALES, Esq., F.S.A.

Read March 12th, 1868.

SOME information respecting Easter Sepulchres may be met with in most works on mediæval archæology; but if the student wishes to know more about the subject, and compares their statements, he will find that the whole are derived from extremely limited sources. With respect to the structures known by the name, a paper in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, bearing the initials "R. G."^a is the mine from which the other writers have dug their materials: and as for the ceremony for which the structures were used, one or two works furnish nearly all the little store of information yet opened to us.

In the present advanced stage of knowledge, in archæology as well as science, he must be a bold man who asserts that he has made any important discovery; the labour of the age must rather be to extend the work commenced by our predecessors, to whom we are indebted for an amount of painstaking perseverance and industry which it requires some time fully to discern and appreciate. The subject of Easter Sepulchres has never yet been treated as a whole, and it seems a worthy task (though more arduous than at first might be imagined) to present, in the form of a monograph, the whole subject in as complete a form as lies in the writer's power.

The subject naturally divides itself into two parts, connected (necessarily) with each other: the one being the ceremony, the other the structure suitable for that ceremony. The nature of the ceremony inferentially points out what sort of structure was requisite, while the nature of the structure cannot fail to have a bearing upon the ceremony; of neither alone have we that full knowledge which might be desired.

And first as respects the ceremony. It may be described as being in its nature

^a *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii. article written by Richard Gough, Director of the Society.

a rubrical ceremony, as distinguished from a "mystery" or "miracle-play;"^a but there was also a performance permitted (though not enjoined), and regulated by certain quasi-rubrics, which can scarcely be distinguished from a "mystery." Different places had their several customs, and the office-books of some of them contain fuller rubrics than are found in others; while a notice of what was enjoined in other countries throws a light upon what was done in England. It will further be seen that there existed no rigid rule of uniformity.

The ceremony may in general terms be described as the deposit on Maundy Thursday (*feria quinta in Parasceve*) of the consecrated Host and the crucifix from the high altar, in a place apart, where it remained concealed for a time (the spot being carefully watched and guarded), in signification of the deposit of our Lord's body in the grave: partly, also, from an ancient belief that His second coming would be on Easter-eve, on account of which St. Jerome conceived that the people should wait in church until midnight, for Christ's appearance.^b The ceremony was called in England "the making of the sepulchre:" and allusions to it are numerous.

In early times it would appear that all parochial churches had not the right to such a sepulchre. An ancient charter relating to the see of Paderborn^c has these words, "Hæ autem parochiæ omnia jura habebunt, nisi quod crucem diebus dominicis et in solemnitatibus non ferent: . . . in Parasceve sepulturam crucifixi non facient." The date of this is not given, and there is nothing to shew that such a restriction at any time existed in our country.

The earliest English authority is as old as the Saxon times. It will be found in the *Concordia Dunstani* quoted at length by Martene.^d The ceremony appears to have been not compulsory, but only permissible; though, judging from the con-

^a Since this paper was read, the writer finds that a similar distinction is made by De Coussemaker (*Drames liturgiques du Moyen Age*; Rennes, 4to, 1860), who says:—"Les drames liturgiques sont ceux qui se liaient d'une manière intime aux cérémonies du culte; ils étaient la mise en action des offices des temps et des saints; ils en étaient le développement, ou le complément" (Pref. p. viij.); but that subsequently "l'esprit civil s'empara de l'élément dramatique, et en transporta, dans un but pieux, les émotions au théâtre."

^b Hone's *Coventry Mysteries*, p. 222.

^c Ducange's Glossary, s. v. *Sepultura Crucifixi*, citing *Monumenta Paderbornensia*, p. 134.

^d "Unus superest ritus quem duobus tantum in locis offendi, scilicet in Concordiâ Dunstani, post crucis adorationem, et in Tullensi Ordinario statim post Vesperas." Martene, *de Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, liber iii. cap. xiv. (fol. ed. 1738, ii. 141). Also *Regularis Concordia Dunstani*: quoted in Migne's *Encyclopédie*, cxxxvii. 493.

stitutions of Hugh Nonant, Bishop of Lichfield, dated in 1194, some such ceremonial had long been usual in his time. The passage is as follows :^a

In nocte Natalis representatio pastorum fieri consuevit, et in diluculo Paschæ representatio Resurrectionis Dominicæ, et peregrinorum representatio die Lunæ in hebdoma Paschæ, sicut in libris super his et aliis compositis continetur.

When adopted it was to be performed in the following manner :—

A hollow place being prepared on one side or part of the altar (*in una parte altaris*), bearing some resemblance to a sepulchre,^b and with a curtain ; after vespers on Holy Thursday, and the ceremony technically termed the Adoration of the Cross, come the deacons, the first of whom wraps the cross in a cloth, singing meanwhile the antiphons “ *In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam,*” “ *Habitavit,*” and “ *Caro mea requiescet in spe,*” and they carry it to the monument or sepulchre, and deposit it there, as though the body of our Lord were there buried, and say the antiphon “ *Sepulto Domino, signatum est monumentum, ponentes milites qui custodirent illud,*” and there the cross with all reverence is kept until Easter eve (*usque Dominicam noctem Resurrectionis*), when two or more brethren remove it, singing psalms.

The ordinal of Toul^c directs that after vespers, the priest having laid aside his chasuble, and the deacon being vested in alb, stole, and maniple, and the thurifer and cerofers in albs, the cross is taken by the priest from the altar of St. Peter to the sepulchre in the following order. First proceed the cerofers followed by the thurifer, and after him the deacon, bearing the corporal folded ; if the Lord Abbot performs the office, the priest who served him at mass will carry the cross, and the abbot follow him ; and then the rest according to seniority ; saying the seven penitential psalms and “ *Gloria Patri.*” Then they take a position at the entrance of the sepulchre, opposite a little closed door, and the priest or abbot wraps the figure on the cross in the corporal, and another cloth round that, commencing these antiphons with a loud voice, and the choir taking them up, “ *In pace,*” “ *Habitavit,*” “ *Caro mea,*” “ *In pace factus est locus ejus, in Syon habitatio ejus.*” This done they depart by another entrance of the sepulchre, in the same order in which they entered. Then the priest or abbot closes the

^a Wilkins's *Concilia*, i. 497.

^b This does not seem very clear, as the early mediæval altars appear to have been solid ; it may have been a recess beside, not in, the altar. The rubric of the Roman missal runs—“ *Hodie paretur locus aptus in aliqua capella ecclesiæ, vel altari ;*” and in an Italian office-book for the laity is the further note : “ *Ma diverso dall' altare ove si è celebrato.*” (*Uffizio della Settimana Santa Colle Rubriche volgare. Roma, 1771.*)

^c Martene, *ubi supra*.

door of the sepulchre, beginning this responsory "*Sepulto Domino*," and the choir follow, ending with a repetition of the versicle; and the procession retires, and the door of the sepulchre is fastened by the sacristan.

SS. Cæsarius and Aurelian, Bishops of Arles, with singular care instituted rules for festival solemnities, and one for the office of the Resurrection of our Lord,^a the former for nuns and the latter both for monks and nuns. But these were evidently of an exceptional nature, and apparently not permanent. Also at Fountains^b the Consuetudinary directs that before the call to vigils (apparently on Easter-eve), six or eight of the chief monks, wearing albs, remove the crucifix from the sepulchre, and restore it to its place, singing in a low voice, "*Christus resurrexit*." Then the matins bells are sounded.

In the inventory of ornaments belonging to the church of St. Margaret Pattens, London, made in 1470,^c is mentioned a "crosse for the sepulcours havyng relikes therein."

The chalice with the Holy Sacrament is covered with a pall and the paten. "Palla prius, quæ ut diximus alias, significat lapidem ad ostium monumenti; patena deinde ad tutelam pallæ, quasi sigillum indicet Pharisæorum."^d

It will be observed that the above passages refer to the deposit of the crucifix only in the sepulchre, but a far more beautiful and significant act, which we must imagine to have been subsequently introduced, appears in the Sarum and other missals; it is the deposit of the Host with the crucifix in the sepulchre,^e which prevailed up to the second year of King Edward VI.^f

The ceremony prescribed by the rite of St. Osmund for Sarum was most likely also followed throughout England; the rites of York, Hereford, Lincoln, and Bangor being very generally similar, but less complete in rubrics;^g and also in Scotland, as appears by the Arbuthnot missal. It differed in a not unimportant point from that directed by the office of Rome, and apparently generally on the continent of Europe, as will be mentioned later.

According to the use of Sarum,^h on Maundy Thursday the priest is vested in a red silk cope, assisted by two deacons in albs and amices. Then—

^a Martene, liber iii. cap. xvi. (ii. 145).

^b *Ibidem*.

^c *Union Review*, v. 298 (May, 1867).

^d As in the Ratisbon Missal printed at Bamberg, 1495.

^e Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ Anglicanæ*, i. 186.

^f Cranmer's Visitation Articles, Sparrow's Collection, p. 29.

^g Gavantus, *Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum*, pars. iv. tit. viii.; 4to ed. Paris, 1652, p. 218.

^h *Missale ad usum insignis Ecclesiæ Sarum*.

Ponantur a subdyacono tres hostie ad consecrandum: quarum due reserventur in crastinum: una ad percipiendum a sacerdote, reliqua ut ponatur cum cruce in sepulchro.

The use of Constance^a was very similar and more explicit in this respect; the rubric says, "*Tres quoque hostiæ consecrantur; una pro missa præsentī, altera pro officio crastino; tertia pro sepulchro Domini.*"

The directions in the Arbuthnot missal^b are identical with those of Sarum.

Following the Sarum use,^c upon Good Friday the pyx, containing the reserved host, is placed upon the altar during the adoration of the cross, and singing of the anthem, "*Whilst the Maker of the World suffered the Punishment of death upon the cross.*" Then is celebrated the Mass of the Pre-sanctified, followed by vespers; which ended, the priest puts off his chasuble, and, taking with him one of the clerics of the superior rank, both in surplices and with bare feet, replaces the cross together with the Host in the pyx, in the sepulchre, himself beginning the responsory, "*I am counted as one of them that go down into the pit; I have been even as a man that hath no strength, free among the dead,*" both kneeling; then rising, he begins the responsory, "*Sepulto Domino,*" which the choir take up, with the versicle, "*Ne forte veniant discipuli ejus et furentur eum et dicant plebi surrexit à mortuis,*" he continuing to kneel until the end of the service. The rubric proceeds thus:—

Deinde incensato sepulchro et clauso ostio incipiat idem sacerdos R. *Sepulto.* Chorus percantet, cum suo Versiculo. Ad istas tres antiphonas genuflectant duo predicti sacerdotes continue. Sacerdos incipiat Añ. "*In pace;*" Chorus prosequatur, "*in idipsum.*" Item sacerdos Añ. "*In pace factus est;*" Chorus prosequatur, "*locus eius.*" Item sacerdos Añ. "*Caro mea;*" Chorus prosequatur, "*requiescet in spe.*"

This being finished and private prayers said, the others retire as they see fit, in no fixed order, and the priest again puts on his chasuble and departs with the deacon, sub-deacon, and other ministers of the altar.

Exinde ardebit continue unus cereus ad minus ante sepulchrum usque ad processionem que fit in resurrectione dominica in die Pasche: ita tamen quod dum primus *Benedictus* canitur, et cetera quæ sequuntur in sequenti nocte, extinguantur. Scilicet, extinguantur in vigiliâ Pasche dum benedicatur novus ignis, usque dum accendatur cereus Pasche, xxxvi pedes continens in longitudine.

On Easter Day,^d before mass, and before ringing the bells, the clergy assemble,

^a *Missale secundum Ritus Constantiensis Ecclesiæ.* Ingoldstadt, 1579.

^b *Arbuthnot Missal*, Burntisland reprint, p. 140.

^c *Sarum Missal.*

^d *Processionale ad usum Sarum.* Paris, 4to. 1528. It has a woodcut of the Resurrection, in which our Lord is represented as standing on the still-closed lid of the tomb.

and (all the lights in the church being lighted,) two of the upper grade, with cerofers and thurifers, and clergy around them, go to the sepulchre, and after censuring it with great reverence, remove the Lord's body to the altar. Then they take the cross out of the sepulchre, and the chief of them begins "*Christus resurgens*," and they proceed in procession to the presbytery. The Host in the pyx, under the care of the sub-treasurer, is placed in the tabernacle and suspended as usual. Then all the bells are rung together, and there is sung the antiphon—

Christus Resurgens ex mortuis jam non moritur, mors illi ultra non dominabitur; quod enim vivit vivit Deo. Alleluya, Alleluya.

Vers. Dicant nunc Judei quomodo milites custodientes sepulchrum perdiderunt regem ad lapidis positionem, quare non servabant petram justitie; aut sepultum reddant aut resurgentem adorent nobiscum, dicentes—(*Chorus respondeat*:)—Alleluya, Alleluya.

The use of Hereford^a was generally similar to that of Sarum, but differed in detail, and slightly in the arrangement of the responsories. At the commencement of the ceremony the cross is set down before the door of the sepulchre, and washed with wine and water, and covered with a linen cloth; the choir singing in a low tone, or rather as a lamentation, R. "*Tenebre facte sunt*," &c.; and Vers. "*In pace factus est locus ejus et in Syon habitatio ejus*," &c.: and also, whilst it is being placed in the sepulchre, the anthems "*In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam*," and "*Caro mea requiescet in spe*." In the meantime the Bishop replaces, "*honorifice*," the body of the Lord in the sepulchre, and incenses it and the cross. And then, a taper being lighted, he closes the sepulchre, while the choir sing "*humiliter*" the R. "*Sepulto Domino*." Then the Bishop, standing before the sepulchre, sings "*Memento mei Domine Deus dum veneris in regnum tuum*" to the end.

The custom thus described continued in use until after the Reformation, as appears by the Visitation Articles of Archbishop Cranmer, 2 Edward VI.^b

The ceremony, according to the use of Rome, as prescribed in the rubrics, is that not three, but two, hosts should be consecrated on the Thursday: "*Hodie sacerdos consecrat duas Hostias, quarum unam sumit, alteram reservat pro die sequenti, in quo non conficitur sacramentum*."^c And the same seems to have been

^a *Missale ad usum celebris Ecclesie Helforden', summa cura et vigili opera nuper impressum. Rothomagi, 1 Sept. 1502.*

^b Sparrow's Collection, p. 29.

^c *Missale Romanum*. Basle, fol. 1488; Romæ, fol. 1862; &c. Migne, *Encyclopédie Théologique: Dictionnaire des Cérémonies et des Rites Sacrées*, p. 780. *Uffizio della Settimana Santa*, p. 175.

generally followed on the continent. At Augsburg there were three;^a and the rubrical and other directions are fuller, as particularly specified by Migne. At the conclusion of the mass on the Thursday the hymn "*Pange lingua*" is intoned,^b and the celebrant, in a white cope, under a canopy (borne by nobles or ecclesiastics wearing the cope, or the cotta, without stole), carries the holy Sacrament in a monstrance (not a pyx) in procession with lighted torches, and the sub-deacon carrying the cross to the sepulchre, "*locus aptus in aliqua capella ecclesiæ, vel altari . . . ornetur cum velis et luminibus.*" The sepulchre is in Latin called either "*Sepulchrum*" or "*Monumentum*;"^c in Italian, "*Il sepolcro della Settimana Santa*;"^d and in French, "*Le Réposoir*;" in Spanish the structure is termed "*El Monumento*."^e The celebrant deposits the monstrance on the altar, and chants the prayer "*Respice*," then kneels, and, while the cerofers chant "*O salutaris*,"^f thrice incenses the holy Sacrament, and then gives the benediction with one only sign of the cross. At Rome, the Pope himself carries the host to the Sepulchre.^g At Seville, where the Easter ceremonies rival those of Rome, the procession is as follows:^h—

Da principio por la hermandad Sacramental del Sagrario, precedida del guion y estandarte, sigue el clero y ministros del cabildo, despues los capitulares y ultimamente el Prelado que conduce la Magestad bajo un hermoso Pálio; cerrando la processon el Gobernador de la provincia, á quien, colocada la Magestad en el Monumento, se pone al cuello la llave del sagraria, pendiente de un cordon de oro.

In some places in England it appears to have been usual on this occasion, instead of a pyx as in the Sarum use, or an ordinary monstrance as in the Roman office, to employ a special article of plate in which the Host was visible through a bright crystal. That at Durham is describedⁱ as "a marvelous beautifull IMAGE OF OUR SAVIOUR, representing the resurrection, with a crosse in his hand, in

^a Gerbert, *Monumenta Veteris Liturgiæ Alemanniæ*, i. 77; and his *Vetus Liturgia Alemannica*. Also *Salzburg Missal*, printed at Nuremberg, 1498; Augsburg, printed at Basle, 1510; Magdeburg, printed 1497, and others.

^b Except by the priest, who says it secretly. (*Settimana Santa*, p. 175.)

^c e. g., "*Hic currunt Johannes et Petrus simul ad sepulchrum: et Johannes prius venit ad monumentum, sed non intravit.*" (*Coventry Mysteries*, Halliwell's ed. p. 358.)

^d Moroni, *Dizionario Ecclesiastica*, s. v.

^e Velasquez de la Cardena, *Spanish and English Dictionary*, 1863.

^f "*Tantum ergo Sacramentum*," according to Picart, *Religious Ceremonies*, ii. 19.

^g *Ibid.*

^h *Descripción del Templo Catedral de Sevilla*. Sevilla, 1850.

ⁱ *Cosin MS.* in Durham Cathedral library, printed by the Surtees Society, xv. 10; and, also, with less literal exactness, in Davies's *Rites of Durham*, p. 22.

the breast whereof was enclosed in bright christall the holy Sacrament of the Altar, throughe the which christall the Blessed Host was conspicuous to the behoulders." The Cathedral of Lincoln^a possessed "an image of our Saviour, silver and gilt, standing upon six lions, void in the brest, for the sacrament for Easter-day, having a beral before and a diadem behind, with a cross in hand, weighing 37 ounces." And a similar image was bequeathed by Cardinal Beaufort^b to Wells Cathedral :—

Unam ymaginem argenteam deauratam, resurrectionis Dominicæ, stantem super viride terragium amilasatum, habentem birillum in pectore, pro corpore Dominico imponendo ; ponderis Trojani octuaginta et quindecim uncias.

Among the treasures still preserved at Cologne, there is at the church of the Friars Minor a small crucifix,^c considered to date from the first half of the thirteenth century, in the breast of which is a glass or crystal in the form of a heater shield, evidently intended for some such purpose.

In the Roll of Coldingham Priory,^d for the year 1370, is an item of expenditure, "*In empcione unius ymaginis pro Resurreccione*," which might have been of the same nature.

In the inventory of Church goods of St. Saviour's, Southwark, dated 26th February, 1548,^e is an item which there can be little doubt relates to something similar,

ij. peaces of silver knoppis, which was in the brest of the ymage of the Resurrection.

The more Northern custom appears to have been to place the Host in a pyx instead of a monstrance, and then "*Sacerdos corpus Domini in corporale diligentissime involvet*."^f After which the deacon, sacristan, or priest, sets the monstrance in the niche, where it is veiled according to ancient usage, and the sacristan locks the door,^g the key of which is, by a decree of the Congregation of Rites in 1610, not to be given to a layman, even though a noble, but only to an ecclesiastic.^h All the lights except that by the processional cross are extinguished, and the priest changes his vestments from white to purple, and returns to the choir, or sacristy, while the rest sing the hymn "*Pange lingua gloriosi*."

^a Inventory of jewels, vestments, &c., of Lincoln Cathedral, 1536. Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vi. 1279.

^b *Ibid.* ii. 280 n. ^c Engraved in *Les Trésors Sacrés de Cologne*, par Franz Bock, fig. 87, pl. 25.

^d *Priory of Coldingham*, Surtees Society, vol. xii. Appendix lxi.

^e Inventories of Church Goods in Surrey, printed in the Surrey Archæological Society's *Collections*, iv. 84.

^f *Magdeburg Missal*, A.D. 1497.

^g Picart's *Religious Ceremonies*, ii. 19.

^h *Settimana Santa*, p. 177.

According to some rubrics,^a the crucifix from the high altar is deposited with the Host in the sepulchre, and perhaps that was the most usual custom. At Ratisbon the crucifix only is mentioned as placed in the sepulchre,^b and the office runs thus: The priest, with the ministers, takes the crucifix to the sepulchre, all singing & "*Recessit pastor noster*," with versicle; then they place it in the sepulchre, and with bended knees read ("*submissa voce absolute*") the psalms "*Confitebor*," "*Domine probasti me*," "*Eripe me Domine*," "*Domine clamavi*," and "*Voce mea*," without "*Gloria*." Then "*Christus factus est pro nobis obediens*," followed by the "*Magnificat*," without "*Gloria*," then "*Proprio filio suo non pepercit*," and "*Pater noster*;" afterwards "*Miserere mei Deus*," with the versicle, "*In pace factus est*." Then the crucifix is aspersed and incensed, and they retire singing "*Sepulto Domino*," *lenta voce*.

It is the custom in Rome at the present day for the mass to be celebrated in the Sistine Chapel of the Vatican, while the Pauline Chapel is used as the sepulchre.^c In Winchester Cathedral there is a chapel called the "Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre."^d In some places the host is deposited in the sacristy,^e but elsewhere it is directed only that some suitable place should be prepared for its custody.^f

On Good Friday the pyx was removed in procession, with lights and incense, to the altar, whilst the hymn "*Vexilla regis prodeunt*" was sung, and the "Mass of the Presanctified" celebrated; after which it was taken back (still containing the third Host), with like ceremony, to the sepulchre. Picart^g states the removal to have been on Easter-eve instead of Good Friday, but this would seem to be in error.

The Evangelist's account runs thus:^h the Chief Priests and Pharisees asked Pilate—

Command therefore, that the sepulchre be made sure until the third day, lest his disciples come by night and steal Him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead; and so the last error shall be worse than the first.

Pilate said unto them, Ye have a watch; go your way, make it as sure as ye can. So they went, and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone and setting a watch.

In remembrance of this the Easter sepulchre was lighted and constantly watched until the removal of the Host or crucifix.

^a e.g. Augsburg ed. 1510.

^b Ratisbon Missal, printed at Bamberg, A.D. 1495.

^c Picart, *ut supra*.

^d British Archæological Association Congress, 1845, p. 264.

^e Missal of Use of Passau, A.D. 1532; Salzburg Missal, A.D. 1498; Ratisbon Missal, A.D. 1518.

^f *Settimana Santa*.

^g Picart, ii. 19.

^h St. Matthew, xxvii. 64 to 66.

All authorities accord in directing that there should be one light, at least, constantly burning whilst the holy Sacrament remained there.^a

The following are illustrations from extraneous contemporary sources :—

1370. A guild in the parish of St. Botolph without Aldgate^b was founded in honour of the body of Christ, and to maintain thirteen wax lights burning about the sepulchre in the time of Easter, and to find a chaplain. The objects of the guild were afterwards extended, and it became the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, of the same parish ; but the original object was still maintained, as appears by this entry in their “ Blake Registre Boke.”

Also there ben ordeyned xiiij. tapers of wax, and every taper of sex pounce of wax, with dysches of pewtre accordyng thereto, forto brenne about the sepulchre on Estre's Eve and Estre's Day, al so longe as the maner es in Holy Chirche.

1433. Margaret Blackburn, the widow of a citizen of York, by her will^c orders eight wax torches, each weighing 16 lbs., to burn at her exequies, and afterwards to be distributed between the churches of All Saints North Street, St. John the Evangelist, and the Holy Trinity, York ; and St. Mary the Virgin, Richmond : there to burn “ annuatim, die Paschæ, tempore Resurrectionis Domini nostri Jhesu Christi, dum durare poterunt.”

1439. The will of Alvered Manston^d contains this passage :—

In honore domini nostri Jhesu Christi et quinque vulnera ejus, ordinentur quinque libræ ceræ in candelis ad arndendum ante sepulchrum in ecclesia predicta (Whitkirk) et xv d. ad solvendum eodem die pauperibus, et hoc pro termino quinque annorum proxime post mortem meam sequencium.

1460. Abbot Wheathampstead, of St. Alban's,^e gave money for twelve candles for ever, “ ardere circa sepulchrum Dominicum.”

1463. The will of John Baret^f mentions a Resurrection Guild at Bury, and bequeathes to it 8*d.* for eight tapers “ stondyng at the grawe of resurreccon gylde.”

^a Fosbroke, *Encyclopædia of Antiquities*, i. 49. Office for Holy Week. Missals of Sarum, 1527 and 1534 ; Rome, 1577 ; Magdeburg, 1479, *cum aliis*. Nuremberg, 1498, directs that there should be seven lamps, or two candles.

^b Hone's *Ancient Mysteries*, pp. 77, 82.

^c *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii. (Surtees Society, vol. xxx.) 46.

^d *Ibid.* p. 73.

^e *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii.

^f *Bury Wills*, Camden Society, xlix. 28.

1465. Great Yarmouth accounts^a contain charges for watching the sepulchre and tending the sepulchre lights.

1471. The will of Richard Tong, of York,^b directs to be buried in the (since destroyed) church of St. Nicholas, Micklegate, and adds:—

Volo quod executor meus inveniet et sustentabit candelam meam vocatam Sepulchre-candell, in custodia Johannis Belamy, ponderantem iiij. li. ceræ, sumptibus meis propriis et expensis, annualiter combusturam coram sepulchro Domini in festis Paschalibus in ecclesia mea parochiali secundum usum ac laudabilem consuetudinem civitatis Ebor. durante termino vij. annorum post diem sepulturæ meæ.

1475. In the will of Sir Thomas Tyrrell, Knt.,^c occurs the following:—

Where as there hath been gadred of me and of myne houshold many yeres certaigne money, whereof parte hath gone yerely to fynding of the sepulchre light, I woll that myne Executours, to th'entent that a good Rule be hadde hereafter to the pleasure of God, and for the soules that any thyng have given thereto shall give and deliver of my godes to the fynding and contynuanee of the saide light v. li. sterling. And I woll that all other somes bilongyng to the saide light and being in other mennes handes shalbe gadred and be delivered unto Humfrey Tyrrell, and others, they to se that it may from hensforth be employed to the wele and profite of the saide light.

1479. The will of Thomas Windsor, of Stanwell,^d directs that of four wax tapers to be used first at his burial, “ij of them to brene yerely as long as they will endure about the sepulchre of our blissid Lord at the time of Estre.”

1482. St. Stephen, Walbrook, London.^e

Item payd on Estren Evyn to William Breyt and to Ray's man *pur*
wetchyng of the sepulchre viij^d.

1483. Same.

Item payd to the Clerkys when they wachyd the sepulchre for ther
drynke and bred iiij^d.

1485. Same.

Item payde to the Clerkeys at ester A^o. ij^{do}. for coleyse, water, and
ale and candel when they wacheyd the sepulchre x^d q^t.

^a Swinden's *History of Great Yarmouth*, p. 811.

^b *Testamenta Eboracensia*, iii. (Surtees Society, vol. xlv.) 190 n.

^c Prerogative Registry, 31 Wattis.

^d *Ibid.* 7 Logge.

^e Parish Accounts (unpublished).

1499. Reading, St. Lawrence^a (churchwardens' accounts).

Payed for wakyng of the sepulcre	viiij ^d .
It. payed for a li. of encens	xij ^d .
It. payed for colys	j ^d .

1499. St. Mary-at-Hill, London,^b accounts.

For the waching of the sepulchre and the Chirche to iii men . . .	xij ^d .
For brede and ale to them that wached	vj ^d .
For a lampe and for tentyr hookes for the sepulchre	j ^d ob.

1504. The will of Anne Barrett^c directs that—

An honest prist and a queerman shall syng for my soule . . by the space of xx^{ti} yeerys in the churche of our Lady in Bury aforseid, at the Resurreccōn aughtler. It'm I wyll that myn executors shall by a messbook suffyeyent, with all other thyngs necessary for a prist to syng messe yn, with eurteyns and aughtler clothes necessary ; which messebook, chalys, vestment, and othyr stuff I wyll it shall remayn at the Resurreccōn aughtler aforseid to the woorshyppe of God as longe as yt may endure.

1504. Thomas Pakenham, of Ixworth Thorpe, by his will^d leaves

To the sepulkyr lyght vj. hyves of beene (hives of bees) to pray for me and my wyffe in all common sangred.

1507 to 1538. St. Stephen, Walbrook, London.^e Frequent payments occur for watching the sepulchre, and bread and ale for the watchers, and coals and candles ; usually 8*d*. or 10*d*.1529. Heybridge, Essex.^f

Memorandum: Thatt in the 21st yere of Kynge Henrye VIII. the bachellers of the paryshe of Heybryge have delyvarede the 9 tapers belonging to the sepulker, at the feste of Ester, each taper contaynyng 5 pownde of waxe. Sum, 45 pownde of waxe. And they have (in hand) above all charchgys 5*s*. 10*d*. And so remaynethe in the stoke clerely above all chargys 43 pounce of waxe, the whyche restyth in the handes of Richard Langore, wax-chandeleyr.

Also a similar entry respecting the maidens who had delivered 9 tapers each of 5 pounds, and in hand 2*s*. 10*d*.

^a Coates's *History of Reading*, p. 214.

^b *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii. and Nichols' *Illustrations*, p. 102.

^c *Bury Wills*, Camden Society, xlix. 95.

^d *Bury Wills*, Lib. Fuller, fol. 70 (Camden Society, in notes, p. 252.) The editor adds that what that particular service was is not ascertainable.

^e Parish Accounts (unpublished).

^f Nichols's *Illustrations*, 177.

1530. The will of John Cleris, of Ampton,^a bequeaths

To the sepulchre light in Ampton Church, to continew for evyr, too melche nete (milch cows) to be leten by the churchwardens for the tyme beyng, and halfe part of the money comyng yeerly of the letage of the sayd neete to go to the fyndyng of the seyde light, and the other half to bye another melche nete; so that the stoke may evyr be renewyd and encresyd, and the mony comyng of the letage of every and all thes seme nete to go to mayntenance of the sayd light to contynew perpetuall.

1531. Hurstmoneeaux, Sussex.^b Lord Dacre wills that

Myn Executours give towarde the light of the said Sepulture oon hundred pounds of wax to be made in Tapers, of tenne pounds oon pece, to bren abought the said Sepulture after the maner as the custume is now used to bren aboute the same.

1538. By Cromwell's Injunctions,^c 1538, the clergy were not to suffer any candles to be set before any image, but only the light on the rood-loft, the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulchre. These were to be allowed to stand for the ornamenting the church, and the solemnity of Divine service. It is difficult to say what authority the Royal or Episcopall Injunctions earried with them; but there appears no reason to doubt that as far as they were then lawfully binding they are so now.

1541. Reading, St. Laurence.^d

Payd to Loreman for playing the prophett on Palme Sunday	. ii ^d .
Payd for a quart of malmesey for the clerke on Palme Sunday	. iii ^d .

1542 and 1554. Waltham Abbey.^e

Paid for watching the Sepulchre 4d. and 8d. respectively.

1545. Wigtoft, Lincolnshire.^f

Mc^d that John Nebyle and John Butler, Aldermen of the Sepulcre lyght in A^o dni M.CCCC.XLV., A^o H. viii., xxxvj., have delyvered by the paryshoners to th'use of the seid lyght, 9s. 7d. And also be it remembred that ther is at this day fyve score and twoo pounce waxe in the seid lyght.

^a *Bury Wills*, Lib. Brett, fol. 54 (Camden Society, vol. xlix. in notes, p. 249).

^b Prerogative Registry, 13 Hogen. In *Testamenta Vetusta* (ii. 653) it is put "C. l." as though it were a hundred pounds in money instead of wax; the same is copied in "Rock's *Church of our Fathers*," iii. 69.

^c Collier's *Church History*, ii. 150.

^d Coates's *Reading*, p. 130.

^e *Archæologia*, i. 19.

^f Nichols's *Illustrations*, p. 232.

1546. St. Michael, Spurrier-Gate, York.^a

Pd. for Pake thred for bynding of St ^t Pulcur Candylls	½ ^d .
Pd. for whyt Thred to the Parysh Clark for sewying of Seynt Pulcure Howse and the Vestements	i ^d .
Pd. to John Carver for a day and di. mendyng of Seynt Pulcure Howse and for helping of y ^e Angells' Wyngys, and the Stawyls in the Churche, and for di. Day helping of the Hamerrys (Aumbries) in the Church	1 ^s .

1546-52. Bletchingley, Surrey.^b

Paymentes—

Item for setting up the rood-lofte	x ^d .
Item for nayles for the same	ij ^d .
Item payd for cooles	iiij ^d .
It'm for xxxviij. lbs. of waxe	xiiij ^s .
It'm for making ij. tapers	ij ^d .
It'm for ij. torches	viiij ^s . vj ^d .
Item payd to Brande for watchyng the sepulcre	viiij ^d .
It'm to Brande for watching the sepulcre	viiij ^d .
Item payd to laborers for polyng downe of the roode	xiiij ^d .
It'm to John Brande for watching of y ^e sepulcre	iiij ^d .

1555 and 1558. Abingdon, St. Helen.^c

To the Sextin for watching the Sepulter two nyghtes	viiij ^d .
To the Sexten for meat and drinck, and watching the sepulture according to custom	i ^s . x ^d .
To the Bellman for meat, drinck, and cooles watching the sepulture	i ^s . viij ^d .

1551. Reading, St. Mary.^d (The accounts begin this year at the time of rebuilding the church.)

Receyvid of Henry More, for the sepulker	xiii ^s iiij ^d
Receyvid of John Webbe for the tounge of brycke	xij ^d

1558. Same.

Paide to Roger Brock for watching of the sepulchre	viiij ^d .
Paid more to the saide Roger for syses and colles	iiij ^d .

1559. St. Helen, Abingdon.^e

Charges for watching.

^a Nichols's *Illustrations*, 316.^b *Loseley MSS.*, edited by Kempe, pp. 164, 165.^c Nichols's *Illustrations*, p. 141.^d Coates's *Reading*, p. 221.^e Nichols's *Illustrations*, p. 142.

1559. January 29. Will of Randall Ward.^a

I gyffe to the Churchē ij. buschells of barley . . . to be bestowed at the dyscrecōn of the churchewardons, and sett uppe a candell before the sepulcrur every yere: to be prayed for.

1561. Reading, St. Laurence.^b

Receyved for the Sepulchre xxvi^s viii^d

The last three examples occur in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

A fragment of a hymn, or prose, which has been preserved was^c no doubt sung in the time of the watch. It runs thus:—

Unde monumentum tale
Quod est magis speciale
Fit pro nequitia.
Jesu Christi passionis
Atque resurrectionis
Pro nostra leticia.
Habeamur ergo curam
Circa Christi sepulturam
Vigilando noctibus.
Ut dum secum vigilamus
In eterno valeamus
Auspiciis celestibus.

Very early on Easter morning, before sounding the matins bell, the cross was removed to its usual place upon the altar, and then there was performed in some, and apparently many, monastic churches and cathedrals a peculiar ceremony, called the “Office of the Sepulchre.” The custom in England is described in the “*Regularis Concordia S^{ci} Dunstani*,”^d and there is a similar but briefer account of the practice at Fountains Abbey.^e Martene speaks of it as “ritus quem duobus tantum in locis offendi,” and as a use “quorundam religiosorum imitabilem, ad fidem indocti vulgi ac neophytorum corroborandum”; but Migne’s^f

^a *Richmondshire Wills and Inventories* (Surtees Society), xxvi. 143.

^b Coates’s *Reading*, p. 130.

^c *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii.

^d Migne’s *Encyclopédie*, cxxxvij. 493, quoting from Reyners’ *Concordia Dunstani*; also Martene, *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, lib. iii. cap. xvi. ii. 141.

^e Martene, ii. 145.

^f Migne’s *Encyclopédie*, xliii. 847 (*Dictionnaire des Mystères*).

Encyclopædia cites a considerable number of similar ceremonies, dating from the ninth or even the eighth century at Poitiers, and the ninth at Metz ; continued at Narbonne almost to our days ; and at length suppressed at Bourges as a puerile show.

The custom as practised in the time of St. Dunstan (who died A.D. 988) is described thus^a :

When the third lesson is read, four brothers vest themselves ; one of them, bearing a palm, seats himself at the sepulchre ; the other three wearing hoods [three canon-deacons (*diaconi canonici*) in dalmatics, and their heads covered with amices, after the manner of women—according to Ducange^b], and bearing thuribles with incense, come as though seeking something to the sepulchre [saying this Verse, “ *Quis revolvat nobis lapidem ?* ”—Ducange]. The one seated there (vested in an alb), personifying the angel, and the others the three Marys coming with spices to anoint the body. Then the one within, seeing the others approach, begins to sing in a low, soft voice, “ *Quem queritis ?* ” and the others answer together, “ *Jesu Nazarenum* ” ; to which he replies, “ *Non est hic ; surrexit sicut prædixerat. Ite nunciate quia surrexit a mortuis.* ” The rest, turning to the choir, sing “ *Alleluia, surrexit Dominus.* ” He, as though calling them back, sings the antiphon “ *Venite et videte locum,* ” and rising shows the void place where the cross was—the cloth only remaining in which it was wrapped ; whereupon they set down their thuribles, and taking up the cloth spread it towards the choir, and, singing the antiphon “ *Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro,* ” place the cloth upon the altar. Then the prior begins the hymn “ *Te Deum laudamus,* ” and all the bells are rung together. Then follow matins.

Mention is made in some of the Edwardian inventories of church goods of stools for the sepulchre, probably for occupation by those who personified the angels. Thus at Clapham, Surrey^c (account taken in 1550)—

Diverse stayned clothes and stools for the sepulchre.

Diverse old stayned and painted clothes for the doing of ceremonyes lately used in the church.

The other instances, so far as they have been preserved, are all of the same general effect, though all varying, and some being much more ample than others.

^a *Concordia Sancti Dunstani*, ed. Reyner, p. 89 ; quoted by Migne and by Rock, *ut supra*.

^b *Ubi infra*.

^c *Church Inventories*, Surrey Archæological Collections, iv. 44, 109.

Rouen, which is one of the fullest, and dates from the twelfth century, has the following addition :^a

After the boy personifying the angel has announced that the Lord is risen, he immediately disappears, and two priests of high rank in tunics within the sepulchre ask, "*Mulier quid ploras? Quem quæris?*" The central woman replies, "*Domine si sustulisti eum dicito quia tulerunt Dominum meum.*" The two within answer, "*Quem quæritis mulieres?*" The Maries kiss the spot and retire. In the meantime, a canon in priest's orders, in alb and stole, holding a cross,^b shows himself at the left angle of the altar, and says, "*Maria!*" On hearing which she instantly throws herself at his feet, exclaiming "*Cabboin!*" [so probably for "*Rabboni*"]. He, disappearing, commands her, "*Noli me tangere!*" Then appearing on the right side of the altar, and passing in front of it, says, "*Averte! nolite timere,*" and vanishes. The women joyfully bend to the altar, and, turning to the choir, sing "*Alleluia! resurrexit Dominus; Alleluia.*" Then the archbishop or priest before the altar, with thurible, in a loud voice, begins the "*Te Deum laudamus.*"

At Zurich (dating from c. 1260)^c two of the most eminent of the canons, representing SS. Peter and Paul, and wearing chasubles, made semblance of running to the altar of the martyrs, the younger of them passing the other; the canon personifying the angel then took the white linen, and all three, showing it to the people and clergy, sang, "*Vous voyez, bons compagnons,*" &c.

The music, even, to which the parts of the several performers were sung, has been preserved in various instances.^d Examples occur in manuscripts now in the Imperial Library at Paris, dating in the middle of the thirteenth century, at Tours, and at Orleans, both of the twelfth century, and at Cividale (Friuli) in a Processional of the fourteenth century.

A representation of the resurrection by means of puppets was given at Witney, Oxfordshire, as described by Lambarde; though it is necessary to bear in mind that he evinces throughout his writings great virulence against various observances which he looked upon as superstitious. His account runs thus :—^e

^a Ducange, *Glossarium*, fol. ed. Paris, 1736, vol. vi. s.v. *Sepultura Crucifixi*.

^b In the Orleans MS. he is "*dalmaticatus candida dalmatica, candida infula infulatus, philacteria preciosa in capite, crucem cum labaro in dextrâ, textum auro paratorium in sinistrâ habens.*" (Coussemaker, p. 186.)

^c Migne, *ut supra*.

^d Coussemaker, *Drames Liturgiques*, pp. 178, 186, 250, 298.

^e Lambarde's *Alphabetical Description of the Chief Places in England and Wales*, 4to. London, 1730, p. 459, s. v. Wytney.

In the days of ceremonial Religion they used at Wytney to set forthe yearly in maner of a Shew or Enterlude the Resurrection of our Lord and Saviour *Chryste*, partly of Purpose to draw thither some Concourse off People that might spend their Money in the Towne, but cheiflie to allure by pleasant Spectacle the comon Sort to the Liking of Popishe Maumetrie, for the which Purpose and the more lyvely thearby to exhibit to the Eye the hole Action of the Resurrection the Preistes garnished out certain smalle Puppets representinge the Parsons of Christe, the Watchmen, Marie, and others, amongst the which one bare the Parte of a wakinge Watcheman who (espionage Christ to arise) made a continual noyce like to the sound that is caused by the Metinge of two Styckes, and was therof comonly called *Jack Shacker* of Wytney. The like Toye I my selfe (being then a Chyld) once saw in *Poules* Church at London at a Feast of Whitsontyde, where the comynge down of the Holy Gost was set forthe by a white Pigion that was let to fly out of a Hole that yet is to be sene in the mydst of the Rooffe of the great ile; and by a long Censer, &c.

From the slight existing notices of such ceremonies as those described by Lambarde, there appears reason to believe that they were local and almost unique.

At Durham no such performance took place, but the description of the custom there is very complete and curious.^a Between 3 and 4 o'clock on Easter morning, two of the oldest monks of the quire, each with a pair of silver censers, came to the sepulchre with great reverence, and took out the Image of Our Saviour representing the Resurrection previously described. Then, after the elevation of the said "picture," they carried it on a fair embroidered velvet cushion, and, with the choir singing the anthem *Christus resurgens*, brought it to the high altar. After which they carried it in procession round the church, beneath a most rich purple velvet canopy borne by four ancient gentlemen, and attended by the whole choir with goodly torches and great store of other lights, back to the altar, where the said image remained until Ascension Day.

Although performed under rubrical directions, such ceremonies seem at first sight scarcely distinguishable from mysteries. Precision in language was not in the Mediæval period usual or so necessary as now. Many expressions were then interchangeable which now have a precise and special meaning, and, in default of any authoritative definition of a mystery or miracle-play, doubt may be raised as to the class in which this ceremony should be placed; but I think we may fairly draw a distinction. This is a dramatic ceremony performed partially in appropriate costume, or rather by an adaptation of the ordinary costume, but limited to a representation of scenes of scripture history, and expressed in scripture language. On the other hand, a mystery may be described as a performance in which

^a *Cosin MS.* in Durham Library, written between 1620 and 1630; printed by the Surtees Society, xv. 10, having been previously printed in the work known as Davies' *Rites of Durham*, p. 22.

the scripture history is paraphrased, and amplified, and supplemented by the aid of fancy and imagination, and probably almost, if not always, performed in some out-door natural amphitheatre.

The writer of the *Dictionnaire des Mystères* in Migne's *Encyclopædia*^a makes a similar division of the ceremonial into two distinct sections, viz. :—

1°. *Les rites figurés.*

2°. *Les représentations dramatiques.*

He says that, in spite of the efforts of the higher clergy, these representations were introduced into the churches, and persisted in almost to the present day; and that the laity had endeavoured, at least from the twelfth century, to introduce, though with a pious object, the emotions of the theatre. But the church always, so far as possible, restrained them within strict limits.

The same distinction has been drawn by De Coussemaker^b :—

Les mystères étaient représentés sur un théâtre proprement dit, et par des acteurs laïques; il s'y introduisit peu à peu des choses étrangères qui les conduisirent promptement à leur complète sécularisation.

Les drames liturgiques, au contraire, n'eurent pour scène que les églises et les monastères, pour acteurs que les clercs monastiques ou séculiers. Ces jeux dramatiques n'ont jamais été composés dans un but théâtral.

A curious passage occurs in Robert de Brunne's severe condemnation of sins of all kinds (dated c. 1303),^c the tenor of which appears to be that, in his opinion, performances such as that of the Resurrection and the Nativity were permissible if in church (*i. e.*, as acts of devotion), but not in "weyys or greuys;" and he objects to miracle-plays altogether.

Hyt is forbode hym, yn þe decre,^d
Myrales for to make or se;
For myrales ȝyf þou bygynne,
Hyt ys a gaderyng, a syghte of synne,
He may yn þe cherche þurgh þys resun
Pley þe resurreccyun,—

^a Migne's *Encyclopédie* (*Dictionnaire des Mystères*), xliii. 848.

^b Coussemaker, *Drames Liturgiques*, pref. viii.

^c *Handlyng Synne*, by Robert de Brunne, edited by Mr. Furnivall (Roxburghe Club, 1862), p. 146.

^d It has been suggested that the gloss to the passage of the Decretals referred to in the next page may have been in the author's mind. The gloss runs thus:—"Non tamen hic prohibetur representare presepe Domini, Herodem, Magos, et qualiter Rachel plorabat filios suos et cætera quæ tangunt festivitates illas de quibus hic fit mentio, cum talia potius inducant homines ad compunctionem quam ad lasciviam vel voluptatem; sicut in Pascha, sepulchrum Domini et alia representantur ad devotionem excitandam."

þat ys to seyð, how Gode ros,—
 God and man yn myȝt and los,—
 To make men be yn beleuð gode
 þat he has ros wyþ flesshe and blode ;
 And he may pleye wyþouten plyghte
 Howe god was bore yn ȝolð nyghte.
 To make men to beleue stedfastly
 þat he lyghte yn þe vyrgyne Mary.
 ȝuf þou do hyt yn weyys or greuys,
 A syghte of synne truly hyt semys.

It is quite possible that the Mystery, instead of the rubrical ceremony, may have been sometimes performed in the church, as mentioned and forbidden by Pope Innocent III. in a decretal epistle addressed to the Bishop of Leghorn,^a commencing—" *Interdum ludi fiunt in ecclesiis theatrales.*" And the practice is censured by an Anglo-Norman poet in the 13th century, in the Harleian MSS. N. 273, fol. 141, translated by Mr. Norris^b :—

The foolish clerks have invented another open folly, called miracles: these fools disguise their faces by masks, which is forbidden in the Decretal (*i.e.* of Pope Gregory IX. which forbids the clergy to attend plays or wear masks): the greater is their sin. They make representations; but let it be done discreetly, during the office of Holy Church, in the time of Divine Service, shewing Jesus Christ, the Son of God, placed in the tomb, and the Resurrection, for increase of devotion. But when they meet, like maniacs, in the city streets, or in the churchyards, after dinner, a time when fools love to congregate, they may say they do it for a good purpose, but you must not believe them.

A synod of the diocese of Worms, in 1316,^c directed that the performance in church should be previous to the admission of the people :

Ut Resurrectionis Mysterium, ante ingressum plebis in ecclesiam, deinceps peragatur, debita cum devotione et reverentia.

Whitaker, in his *History of Richmondshire*,^d speaks of the permanent structural sepulchre serving for the "paschal play of the Resurrection;" but he gives no authority, and probably only refers to that mentioned in the *Concordia Sancti Dunstani*.

More recent mention of mysteries, written with a very evident *animus*, must,

^a Decretalium Gregorii IX. lib. iii. tit. i. *De Vita et Honestate*, c. xii. *quum decorem*.

^b *The Ancient Cornish Drama*; edited and translated by Edwin Norris, ii. 442.

^c Syn. Dioc. Worm. ap. Harzheim, t. iv. p. 258; quoted in pref. to Wright's *Early Mysteries*, p. xiii. n.

^d Vol. i. p. 5.

therefore, be received with caution and allowance. The following would appear (but not certainly), from the reference to singing-bread, to relate to a performance in church ^a:—

Besides, with images the more their pleasure here to take,
 And Christ, that everywhere doth raigne, a laughing stock to make,
 An other Image doe they get, like one but newly deade,
 With legges stretcht out at length, and handes upon his body spreade.
 And him, with pompe and sacred songe, they beare unto his grave,
 His bodie all being wrapt in lawne, and silkes and sarcenet brave;
 The boyes before with clappers go, and filthie noyses make:
 The Sexten beares the light; the people hereof knowledge take,
 And downe they kneel, or kisse the grounde, their hands held up abroad,
 And, knocking on their breastes, they make this wooden blocke a God;
 And, least in grave he should remaine without some companie,
 The singing-bread ^b is layde with him, for more idolatrie.
 The priest the Image worships first, as falleth to his turne,
 And frankencence, and sweet perfumes, before the breade doth burne:
 With tapers all the people come, and at the barriers stay,
 Where downe upon their knees they fall, and night and day they pray,
 And violets, and every kinde of flowers, about the grave
 They straw, and bring in all their gifts, and presents that they have:
 The singing men their dirges chaunt, as if some guiltie soule
 Were buried there, that thus they may the people better poule.

And the following is an account (if, or in so far as it may be, correct) of a foreign usage ^c also within the church:—

Christ hath not done any thing in his death and passion but they do play and counterfeite the same after him, so trimly and lively that no plaier nor juggler is able to doe it better. In some places they make the grave in a high place in the church where men must goe up many steppes * * * and there do walke souldiers in harnesse as bright as St. George, which keepe the grave till the Priests come and take him up; and then commeth sodenly a flash of fire wherewith they are all afraid and fall downe; and then up startes the man, and they begin to sing “Alleluia” on all hands, and then the clock striketh eleven.

^a Barnaby Goodge’s account of Good Friday, in the English version of *Naogeorgus*, fol. 51 b, quoted in Brand’s *Popular Antiquities*, 4to. i. 130.

^b Singing Bread.—The round cakes or wafers intended for the consecrated host in the eucharistic Sacrament.—Halliwell’s *Dictionary of Archaeology*. “Sacramental bread be made and formed * * as the usual Bread and water heretofore named Singing Cakes, which served for the use of the private Masse.”—*Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth*, 1599; Sparrow’s Collection, p. 79.

^c *Beehive of the Romish Church*, translated into English by George Gilpin, sen. 1636, p. 206.

But from various references the play would appear to have been performed on some stage or scaffold erected for the purpose, and not to have been in the church; in fact, there could not have been sufficient space in the sepulchre for all the characters introduced, nor would it have been visible to more than a very limited audience. The entries in the churchwardens' accounts at St. Laurence, Reading, state particularly that the play was in the Forbery, which is a plain forming an outer court of the Abbey, and bounding St. Laurence's Churchyard; and a hill on one side, still called the Forbery Hill, afforded an excellent place for spectators.^a

These items will suffice for the purpose:

1507. It. paied to the laborers in the Forbury for setting up off	
the polls for the scaphold	ix ^d
It. paied for bred, ale, and bere y ^t longyd to y ^e pleye in the	
Forbury	ij ^s j ^d

Among the parish receipts in 1499 are these, indicating that the Easter ceremonies and the play were on different occasions.

It. rec. of the gaderyng of the stage play	xvij ^s
It. rec. at Estur for the Pascall ^b	xxxvij ^s

Several Cornish amphitheatres described by Carew and Borlase are of large dimensions: one at St. Just is an exact circle, 126 feet in diameter, with seven rows of seats all round, and still in good preservation.^c

The Mystery of the Resurrection is exceedingly curious; it is, as usual, partly a paraphrase and partly an amplification of the account in Scripture. The existing copy of the *Coventry Mysteries* was written in 1468,^d though what antiquity they might then have had can be only conjectured; but a mystery of this nature was performed by the cartwrights, carvers, and sawyers on Corpus Christi Day, 1415.^e The existing text runs to the following effect.^f

Caiaphas and Pilate confer about preventing the disciples stealing away the body, and Pilate gives charge to four knights, Ser Ameraunt, Arfaxat, Cosdran, and Affraunt, to "lete nether frend nor fo in no wey towehe the ston."^g The knights undertake the duty, and talk very loudly of what they will do.

^a Coates's *Reading*, p. 272.

^b Referring to the great paschal candle.

^c Norris, *ut supra*.

^d *Coventry Mysteries*, edited by Halliwell, pref. p. vi.

^e Sharpe's *Coventry Mysteries*, p. 139.

^f Halliwell's *Coventry Mysteries*, p. 340. Hone's *Coventry Mysteries*, p. 338.

^g In the sixteenth-century text of the Ammergau mystery, presently to be referred to, the knights are named Unverzagt, Wagsring, Helmschratt, and Wagendrüssel; and in another edition there is a fifth, named Schuereprant; but these are evidently fancy names of the same class as Greatheart and Ready-to-halt, or Jack the Giant-killer of more recent date.

Arfaxat— Let se, ser Ambraunt, where wele ye be ?

Wole ze kepe the feet or the hed ?

Ameraunt—At the hed so mote I the,

And ho so come here he is but dead.

Arfaxat— And I wole kepe the feet this tyde,

Thow ther come both Jakke & Gylle.

Cosdran— And I xal kepe the ryth syde,

And ho so come I xal hym kylle.

Affaunt— And I wole on the left hand ben,

And ho so come here he xal nevyr then.

fful sekyrly his bane xal I ben,

With dyntys of dowte. . . .

Tunc ibunt ad sepulcrum Pilatus, Cayphas, Annas (addressed as Syr Buschopp) et omnes milites.

The stone is then sealed and locked, and the party retire “to ther scaffoldys,” leaving the knights.

Affaunt—Now in this grownde

He lyth bounde

That tholyd wounde,

ffor he was ffals.

This lefft cornere

I will kepe here

Armyd clere,

Bothe hed & hals.

Cosdran—I wyl have this syde

What so betyde

If any man ryde

To stele the cors;

I xal hym chyde

With woundys wyde

Amonge hem glyde,

With fyne fors.

Ameraunt—The hed I take

Hereby to wake

A stele stake,

I holde in honde.

Maystryes to make,
 Crownys i-crake,
 Schafftys to shake,
 And schapyn schonde.

Arfuxat—I xal not lete
 To kepe the fete;
 They are ful wete,
 Walterid in blood.

He that wylle stalke,
 Be brook or balke,
 Hedyr to walke,
 Tho wrecchis be wood.

This chant over, they all successively complain of drowsiness—

• Tunc dormyent milites, et veniet anima Christi de inferno cum Adam et Eva, Abraham, Johanne Baptista, et aliis.

After some conversation with them—

Tunc transiet anima Christi ad resuscitandum corpus, quo resuscitato, dicat Jesus, &c.

Afterwards—

Tunc evigilabunt milites sepulcri ;

and, after some consultation, they agree to report the truth to Pilate that the Lord had risen.

The *Towneley Mysteries*,^a probably rather earlier than the *Coventry Mysteries*, are very similar, but the conversations are more brief. Pilate gives his commands to—

Syr knyghtes that ar of dedes dughty,
 And chosen for chefe of chevalry,

who undertake the charge, and thus arrange their positions—

Primus Miles— Who shuld be where, fayn wold I wytt.
Secundus Miles—Even on this syde wylle I sytt,
Tercius Miles— And I shall fownde his feete to flytt:
Quartus Miles— We there shrew ther ;
 Now by Mahowne, fayn wold I wytt,
 Who durst com here

^a *Towneley Mysteries* (Surtees Society), iii. 258. The date assigned by Douce (see preface, p. viii.) is Henry VI. (1422—61), or Edward IV. (1461—83) ; probably the earliest of these dates is correct.

This cors with treson forto take,
For if it were the burnand drake,
Of me styfly he gatt a strake,
Have here my hand;
To thise three dayes be past,
This cors I dar warand.

It would appear to have been performed on Easter morning. "The Wepinge of the thre Maries" was "a mystery to be played part on Gudfriday afternone and the other part opon Esterday afternone. The Resurrexion in the morrowe."

The Cornish Mysteries run to the same general effect.^b

At Rayleigh, Essex, the produce of the Church Goods sold in the reign of King Edward VI.^c—

was bestowed by th' appointment of the seid parishyoners in the forme ensuying, viz. to the stage players that played at Raylegh on Trynyte Sondaye in A^o. iiij^o. dieti Regis, xx^s.: residue was bestowed about the reparacyons of the Corne Markett of Raylegh aforesaid whiche as then was lyke to fall.

Quaint as this Mystery was, irreverent as, from its complete discordance with modern associations, many may deem it, we should be unreasonable were we to ante-date such associations, "nor can any one appreciate the character of the period when they were in use, with all its freshness and fearlessness of taste, as well as its rudeness, without attaining an imaginative sympathy with usages so deeply and largely characteristic of them. Our minds are expanded in proportion as we learn to understand how what would be unprofitable to one condition of society, may supply to another an aliment nutritious, because natural."^d

Bishop Bale, who was consecrated Bishop of Ossory in 1553, and died in 1563, and who in his time was much persecuted by the Roman Catholics, wrote several Mysteries,^e in one of which the characters are Pater Cælestis, Noah, Moses, Esaias, Adam, Abraham, David, and John the Baptist; and at the end of each act is a kind of chorus which was performed with voices and instruments. Another was entitled "A brefe Comedy or Enter lude, concernynge the temptacyon of our Lorde & Saver," &c.

^a *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, by Wright and Halliwell, ii. 125.

^b Norris, *ubi supra*.

^c *Church Inventories for Essex*; edited by Mr. H. W. King, about to appear in the Collections of the Essex Archæological Society, vol. iv.

^d Critique on Longfellow's Poems in *Fraser's Magazine*, April, 1853.

^e Dodsley's *Old Plays*, i. 9.

Among the peasantry of Southern nations, an earlier tone of mind than that now prevailing in England still continues ; and to their impressionable character, so readily affected by the senses, childish in its ready faith and earnestness, some kindred ceremonies, still surviving the religious lifelessness and incredulity of high civilization, afford a depth of genuine Christianity hard to find amongst those who trust to reason rather than faith. The most important is the Mystery performed at Ober Ammergau^a in Upper Bavaria every ten years, and witnessed by thousands of peasantry, assembled from the vallies for many miles around, with a deeply earnest religion difficult for us to realize. They sit out on long ranges of seats, closely packed, in the open air.

Acht Stunden lang dem Sonnenschein, dem Regen, auch wol einem Schneegeästöber—das in diesen Hochthälern nicht allzuselten eintritt—ausgesetzt.

The performers, mostly belonging to the village, number about 350, including men and women as old as 80. The play was re-written and revised in 1520, in twelve acts, interspersed with tableaux, and lasts from 8 in the morning to 4 in the afternoon, and at its termination the performers fall on their knees and return thanks to God that the performance has well succeeded. Considerable extracts are given in Pichler's book on the Osterspiel.^b Dr. Burney defines an oratorio as only a mystery in music.

What the construction of the Easter sepulchre really was we have no remains to show, nor, so far as I am aware, is there any representation of it, that is to say, of a structure of sufficient magnitude to contain the several persons engaged in the performance of such ceremonies as those described. There can be little or no doubt that it was a temporary wooden structure, framed so as to be easily put up when required, and afterwards removed, and that it stood on the north side of the choir or chancel. There are, however, numerous high or altar tombs set in a recess in the like position, which were probably inclosed within the framework, and served as the "sepulchre" itself; some of these were expressly intended for the purpose, as appears by documentary evidence, and that others were so intended appears very evidently from their sculptured decoration.

An entry in the parish accounts of St. Mary, Reading, indicate a permanent and a temporary structure, specifying, as two separate items of goods dis-

^a *Das Passions-schauspiel im Dorfe Oberammergau in Oberbaiern; von Eduard Devrient: Leipzig, 1851.*

^b Pichler, *Das Drama des Mittelalters in Tirol.*

posed of in 1551, or soon after, the sepulchre, which sold for 13*s.* 4*d.*, and a tomb of brick, which realized 12*d.*

The tomb itself was perhaps usually intended by the founder of the monument for his own place of burial.

Sir Thomas Tyrrell, Knight of the Shire of Essex, by his will, dated the 16th May, 1475,^a directs—

My body to be buried in the chauncell of the chirch of Essthorndon in Essex aforesaide, under the place where the sepulere is wont to stonde their. And I woll that their be made a tombe of tymber or of stone for me and my wif accordyng honestly for oure degree.

Sir Rauf Verney 1478^b directs as follows :—

My body to be buried in the Church of St. Martyn pomerey in Irmongerlane of London, that is to wite, in the Toumbe standing under the sepulere betwene the Quere and our lady Chapell of the same Church;

evidently referring to the Easter Sepulchre.

Its ordinary if not invariable position was on the north side of the chancel, of which there is abundant proof; the following will suffice.

At Stanwell, Middlesex, Thomas Windsor, by his will, dated the 13th August, 1479,^c directed his body to be buried in the north side of the choir of that church, before the image of Our Lady,—

Wher the sepultur of our Lord stondith; whereupon I will ther be made a playne tombe of a competent hight to th'entent that yt may ber the blissid body of our Lord and the sepultur at the time of Estre, to stond uppon the same.

This tomb was only removed (quite unnecessarily) at a recent date.^d It stood on the north side of the chancel, just east of the priest's door, and at the top of the sanctuary steps.

At Long Melford, Suffolk, the tomb of John Clopton, 1497, was similar, and employed for the same purpose, as described in the MS. of Roger Martin,^e who died in 1580. He speaks of a frame of timber to hold a number of fair tapers, and set up on Maundy Thursday, "the sepulchre being always placed, and finely garnished, at the north end of the high altar, between that and Mr. Clopton's little chappel there, in a vacant place in the wall, I think upon a tomb of one of his ancestors. The said frame, with the tapers, was set near the steps going up to the said altar."

^a Prerogative Registry, 31 Wattis.

^b *Ibid.* 1 Logge.

^c *Ibid.* 14 Logge.

^d Represented in Gentleman's Magazine, 1793, lxiii. 993.

^e Gentleman's Magazine, 1830, ii. 206.

At Magdalen College Chapel, Oxford, dating between 1475 and 1480,^a is a small vaulted recess on the north side of the altar, in which the tomb of the founder's father is now placed : it was originally built for the Holy Sepulchre, as appears by an inventory of the furniture belonging to the chapel, recovered and printed by the Rev. J. R. Bloxam.

Eleanor, wife of Sir Richard Townshend, Knight, by will dated 9th November, 1499, orders her body to be buried by the high altar, before our Blessed Lady, in the chancel of Rainham St. Mary, Norfolk, and a new tomb to be made for her husband's and her bones, upon which tomb to be cunningly graven a sepulchre for Easter Day ;^b and the tomb remains (probably still) on the north side of the choir of Rainham church.^c

Sir Nicholas Latamer, who died 1505, by his will desired to be buried in the church of St. Mary the Virgin, Bookland (Buckland Abbas), Dorset, near the high altar, and in the place where the Sepulchre of the Lord is used to be placed.^d

Sir Henry Colet, 1503, wills his body to be buried at Stebenhith (Stepney) if he decease there, at the Sepulchre before St. Dunstan if the vicary therof be so pleased.^e This would be on the north side of the chancel.^f

Thomas Lord Daere, by his will dated in 1531,^g directs as follows :—

My body to be buried in the parishe church of Hersemounceux in the North side of the high awter there, where the Sepulere is used to be made, and one Tombe to be made and ordeyned convenient for the making and setting of the said Sepulere, and apparell to be made and bought for the said Sepulere at my cost and charge in the honour of the most blisshed Sacrament.

The tomb still remains.^h It is close to the east end of the wall, and consists of a high tomb and a rich canopy, and the space above the tomb and under the canopy is pierced through the wall into the north chantry. On the top are the full-length recumbent effigies of Lord Daere and his son Thomas in armour. He died in 1534.

Thomas Carter, of Swynecombe, Oxon, 4th August, 1550, directsⁱ

My bodye to be buryed in the parishe churehe of Swynecombe aforesaid, at the high aulter ende, where the Sepulere was aceustomyd to stonde.

Sir Richard Southwell, Knight,^k in 1561, directs his burial near the north door

^a *Glossary of Architecture*, s.v. Sepulchre, foot note.

^b Blomefield's *Norfolk*, vii. 132.

^d Prerogative Registry, 29 Holgrave.

^f Knight's *Life of Dean Colet*, p. 398.

^h *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, iv. 191, where it is engraved.

ⁱ Prerogative Registry, 29 Bucke.

^c Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*, i. 5.

^e *Ibid.* 41 Holgrave.

^g Prerogative Registry, 13 Hogen.

^k *Ibid.* 10 Morrison.

of the chancel, and under the place where the sepulture was yearly wont to be set and made.

Dame Anne Packington,^a 26th April, 1563, directs her burial

At thende of the highe aluter whereas the Sepulture was used moste commonly to stande ; (showing that the sepulchre was moveable). And examples might easily be multiplied.

The stone work and sculpture, forming the permanent part of the sepulchre, have been already fully treated of in the publications of this Society,^b and therefore it will not be necessary to enter much into detail here. It was usually a high tomb within a large arched recess in the wall, and the lower part was more or less elaborately sculptured with a design representing, under a conventional type, our Lord stepping forth from the tomb, while the guard of Roman soldiers are sleeping, or dazzled, and powerless ; and perhaps in the carving of the canopy are censuring angels.

Heckington, in Lincolnshire,^c furnishes the most remarkable example : it is of Decorated date. The upper part consists of three canopied arches, the centre of which is recessed, and the canopy is terminated by a representation of Our Lord risen : in the two smaller arches are sculptured, in relief, the Angel and the three Maries. The whole surmounted by a super-canopy and the background filled in with rich, very bold, flowing foliage. In front of the lower part, or tomb, a series of four canopies contains the four soldiers.

At Northwold, Norfolk,^d is a triple-canopied high tomb, apparently dating from about 1460, with the soldiers at the base ; in the back is a small cinquefoiled recess just above the slab, which might have held a pyx.

At Lincoln Cathedral,^e on the north side of the choir, though the superstructure has been destroyed, there remain the three soldiers : this is of earlier date.

At Gosberton, Lincolnshire, is a sepulchre, stately and spacious ;^f at Holcombe, Devon,^g is a similar sculpture in the north wall of the chancel.

In Richmondshire,^h the combination of the tomb and sepulchre is very general ; being an arch richly adorned with tabernacle-work.

Along the Rhine are various examples representing a sepulchre with the body of our Lord and the four Maries, or the seven weepers ;ⁱ as at Andernach, Carden,

^a Prerogative Registry, 10 Stephenson.

^b *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii.

^c *Ibid.* plate 32.

^d *Ibid.* plate 31 ; also engraved in *Norfolk Archæology*, iv. 120.

^e *Ibid.* plate 31.

^f *Ibid.*

^g Polwhele's *Devon*, ii. 82.

^h Whitaker's *History of Richmondshire*, i. 5.

ⁱ Webb's *Continental Ecclesiology*.

Frankfurt on the Maine, Münster, Maifeld, Oberwesel, Remagen, and Sinzig ; and several in France may be mentioned, as at the Abbey of Issoudun, La Prée, and Bourges :^a at St. Nicholas, Troyes,^b was a sepulchre of Our Lord, of very beautiful workmanship, made in the form and of the dimensions of that at Jerusalem, the artist having made one, or two, journeys thither expressly for the purpose. At the Minor Friars, Antwerp,^c is a precinct called the Sepulchre of our Lord.

The walls of the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, in Winchester Cathedral,^d a building of the Early-English period, are covered with paintings of the original date, representing scenes in the history of our Lord before, at, and after the Passion, but there is none, at all events now remaining, of the Resurrection.

A representation of our Lord's resurrection is engraven upon the following monumental brasses, some of which have certainly, and the others there is fair reason to believe, formed part of a sepulchral monument and Easter sepulchre combined :—

SWANSEA, to Sir Hugh Johnys, Knight, c. 1490 :^e formerly on a high tomb in the centre of the chancel, now in the pavement of the same spot. He was made knight at the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, in 1441, which fact may account for the design in this example.

GREAT COATES, Lincolnshire, to Sir Thomas Barnardiston, A.D. 1503, now evidently not in its original position, being cross-wise in the chancel floor.

ALL HALLOWS BARKING, London,^f a tomb against the south wall, c. 1510. This may have been moved ; but, if not, no doubt another than the ordinary position for the sepulchre would have been permissible where local circumstances required.

NARBURGH, Norfolk,^g to Sir John Spelman, 1545 : this was in the usual position until the “restoration” of the church, since Blomefield's time.^h

SLAUGHAM, Sussex, to Richard Covert, Esq., 1547 ; in the usual spot, and canopied, and strongly resembling the tomb at Stanwell.

CRANLEY, Surrey,ⁱ to Robert Harding, Alderman of London, 1503, and wife

^a Durand ; *Voyages Littéraires de deux religieux Benedictins*, part I., pp. 21, 23, and 24.

^b *Ibid.* pt. I. p. 93.

^c *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii.

^d *British Archæological Association Transactions, Winchester Congress*, 1845, p. 264.

^e Bliss and Francis, *Account of the Monument, Swansea*, 1845.

^f Engraved in Godwin and Britton's *Churches of London*, All Hallows Barking, p. 13.

^g Engraved in Cotman's *Brasses of Norfolk* : described p. 41.

^h Blomefield's *Norfolk*, vi. 162.

ⁱ Engraved in Hussey's *Churches in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, mentioned in Domesday Book* p. 325.

and child, with these scrolls : “ (Have mercy Jhesu in the honor of) thy glorious resurreccion ;” “ And grant us the merite of thy bitter passion ;” “ Parentes accipe et infantem, bone Christe.”^a This, also, is evidently not in its original position ; it lies in the pavement of the chancel.

The scene represented by the engraving in all these examples consists of a high-tomb, out of which our Lord is stepping, while in His left hand He bears a long cross-headed staff and *vexillum* or banner, similar to that with which St. John Baptist is usually figured ; around the tomb are the guard of Roman soldiers, varying from two to four, though four appears to have been the most correct number, as in the *Coventry Mysteries*, previously referred to.^b

This treatment is strictly in accordance with a conventional arrangement, which was followed during many centuries, and of which an early instance dating from the Carlovingian period occurs on the shrine of St. Albinus at Cologne^c : thence it is traceable through the grand revival of the art of painting under Giotto,^d to Perugino,^e and other more modern painters, and was a favourite subject for sculpture in *rilievo*. Amongst hundreds of others may be mentioned as examples widely separated by distance, a sculpture in a doorway tympanum at Leon, Spain ; a painting at Sienna, Italy ; and several at the Hotel Cluny, Paris.^f

It happens somewhat singularly that there is scarcely an example given by Agincourt in his *History of Art*, whether in sculpture, painting, or illumination.

Another design very nearly allied cannot reasonably be doubted to have had reference, like the examples above mentioned, to the Easter Sepulchre. It differs from that design, inasmuch as it is a three-quarter figure of our Lord, seen above the edge of the tomb, quiescent and without the banner—rather, indeed, resembling “The Man of Sorrows” of art—and the soldiers are wanting. It may be called rather a devotional work than a representation. This is a very favourite subject in *Predella* paintings of the fourteenth and still more in the fifteenth and early in the sixteenth centuries ; and the larger collections of works of this period (which we may call the “Gold-background period of art”) such as at Sienna, Arezzo, and Florence, furnish abundant examples.

^a Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, i. 541.

^b *Coventry Mysteries* ; Hone, p. 338, Halliwell, p. 340.

^c Engraved in Jameson and Eastlake's *History of Our Lord*, ii. 264.

^d *Ibid.* ii. 267.

^e *Ibid.* ii. 269.

^f One of the latter, dating in the middle of the thirteenth century, is engraved in Griffiths' *Museum of French Monuments*, 1803. Our Lord is represented as stepping on to a prostrate soldier : an injudicious treatment of the subject, (though no doubt, intended to indicate a triumph over the powers of the world as well as of the grave,) of which there are other instances.

In English brasses are the following specimens of this treatment of the subject :—

STOKE CHARITY, Hants, to Thomas Wayte, Esq., 1482, beautifully executed. This is on a canopied high tomb in the south wall of chancel.

BURWELL, Cambridgeshire,^a c. 1510 ; part of an exceedingly curious palimpsest brass, now commemorating John Lawrence, Abbot of Ramsey, 1542 ; at the present time it lies in the pavement in the middle of the chancel floor.

STOKE LYNE, Oxfordshire, to Edward Love, gentleman, 1535 ; fixed to the north wall of the chancel.

An example of this design in painting, with the addition of SS. Mary and John seated on the ground, is given in Jameson and Eastlake's *History of Our Lord*.^b

A more curious subject is that represented on the brass at Macclesfield, Cheshire, to Roger Legh, 1506.^c It has been torn from its slab and fixed on a board. In the foreground is an ecclesiastic, known by his triple tiara to be a Pope, kneeling before an altar on which is a chalice ; and in the place of the *reredos* is a tomb with the three-quarter figure of our Lord, upright in it, being in fact a similar design to that last described. From the Pope proceeds a scroll, "a dampna cœ ppetua libera nos Domine :—" and beneath is the following :—

The pardon for saying of v. pater noster v. aves and a cred is xxvi. thousand yeres and xxvi. dayes of pardon.

The legend runs that on a certain occasion, when St. Gregory the Great (Pope A.D. 590—604) was officiating at the mass, one who stood near him doubted the Real Presence ; thereupon, at the prayer of the saint, a vision was suddenly revealed of the crucified Saviour himself.^d Another explanation of the scene is, that it might have had, originally at least, reference to the fact of the Missal having been revised by him.^e

The subject, which was technically termed the Mass of St. Gregory, was most popular in art from the beginning of the fifteenth century, in every variety of grouping and treatment.^f

^a Engraved in the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Publications*, 4to. series.

^b Jameson and Eastlake's *History of our Lord*, ii. 364.

^c Engraved in Burrough's *View of Popery*, p. 154.

^d *Legenda Aurea*, lib. iii. (March). Jameson's *Sacred and Legendary Art*, i. 320.

^e Jameson and Eastlake, ii. 369.

^f Specimens are engraved in Jameson and Eastlake, ii. 370 ; and in Berjeau, *Catalogue des Livres Xylographiques*, p. 82, from an unique block-book printed at Bamberg ; there is also an engraving of it by Albert Dürer.

An example, of a very similar character to that at Macclesfield, was discovered on rebuilding the church at Quat, near Bridgnorth, Salop,^a being a painting, on vellum, nailed to a board, representing our Lord rising from the sepulchre, with this inscription, "Saynt Gregory and other Popes and byschops grantes sex and twenty thousand zere of pardon & thritti dayes to all that saies devoutelye knelyng afor y^{is} ymage fife paternosters, fyfe aves, & a cred;" and as another example may be mentioned the will of William Hoton, of East Brandon, dated in 1421,^b whereby he leaves to the high altar of St. Katharine *j. tablett cum ymagine de visione sancti Gregorii Papæ*.

Against the north wall of a south quasi-transept in Childrey church, Berkshire, is a tomb very similar to those at Cranley, Stanwell, &c., c. 1510; but the design, instead of our Lord's Resurrection, consists of the conventional representation of the Holy Trinity and of the deceased persons rising from their tombs at the last day. There may have been an altar in the transept, immediately adjoining the monument. A sculpture of the Resurrection occurs on a monument in the south of the chancel at Kingston-by-Sea, Sussex. Also upon the font at Shorne, Kent, but no doubt with a symbolical reference to doctrine. On the font at Southfleet, Kent, is the "Miracle of Bolsena"—a design sometimes mistaken for the Mass of St. Gregory.

The inscription on a brass at Sprowston, Norfolk, A.D. 1559,^c may perhaps point to a like use:—

Whois bodies and soules God grant a joyful res'rexction;
and so this at Charwelton, Northamptonshire, A.D. 1496.^d

En Thome ossa Andrewe hacc continet fossa;
De terra facta p'tinus in terram redacta;
Civibus sanctorum me jungat rex angelorum:
Margeria consors sternitur sub isto coloso:
Animam set linquens deo sibi trino & uno:
Migrantes in spe tecum in eternum gaudere.

And at Hackney, Middlesex, the brass of Christopher Urswick,^e on a canopied high tomb, now in the ante-chamber of the rebuilt church.

The founder's tomb very usually occupied a similar site to the sepulchre, being

^a Camden's *Britannia*, Gough's Edition, 1789, ii. 409.

^b *Wills and Inventories* (Surtees Society), ii. 66.

^c Haines' *Manual of Monumental Brasses*, 1st ed. p. 89.

^d *Ibid.* p. 122. Baker's *Northamptonshire*, i. 302.

^e Haines' *Manual*, p. 28.

at the north west of the altar in a mural recess ; and it seems probable that it may have, perhaps usually, served for both purposes, the effigy of the deceased (where there was one) being temporarily boarded over. This must evidently have been the case at Hurstmonceaux, and at East Horndon.

Examples of tombs, or Easter sepulchres, in recesses in the north wall, will be found, amongst others, in the churches of St. Peter, Dorchester, Dorset ; Writtle, Essex ;^a Tring, Herts ; Cheriton and Hythe, Kent ; Ravenham, Norfolk ;^b Stanton St. John, Oxfordshire ;^c Gorleston, Suffolk ; Walton-on-the-Hill, Surrey, (external) ; Bosham, Catsfield, Eastbourne, Lancing, and Ore, all in Sussex ; and in All Hallows Barking,^d where, in addition to the canopied high tomb on the south side, with the brass of the Resurrection in the back, and of about the same date, there is a very similar tomb on the north side, with these two scrolls (now lost) from the effigies let into the back.

Ego resurgam et in carne meo videbo Jesum
Deum Salvatorem meum.
Qui Lazarum resuscitasti a monumento fetidum
Dona nobis requiem.

In the overwhelming majority of churches there is no such tomb-like recess, but we do find, very frequently indeed, a small arched, or square-headed, recess to the north-west of the altar, sometimes with a wooden door remaining, and always with the marks of hinges and bolt ; this, which we commonly call an ambry, would be extremely suitable as the depository for the pyx, or pyx and crucifix, and it seems exceedingly likely that it was intended to receive them in Holy Week rather than to entrust them (as must elsewhere have been the case) to the temporary wooden structure. Examples of such recesses on the north side of the chancel occur at St. Lawrence, Waltham, Berks ; Wyke, Hants ; Standground, Hunts ; St. Martin's, Canterbury (with linen-pattern door), Barfreston, Northfleet and West Wickham, Kent ; Boston, and many others in Lincolnshire ; Putney, Surrey ; Amberley, Pevensey, Rustington, Salehurst, and Sompting, Sussex. In other situations they are not common ; though Hayes, Kent ; Hellesdon, Norfolk ; Chiddingfold, Surrey ; and Pevensey, Sussex, will serve as examples in the south wall ; while in the east wall are Hever, Kent, north of the window, the piscina

^a Buckler's *Churches of Essex*, p. 204.

^b Engraved in Boutell's *Christian Monuments*, p. 1.

^c Engraved in the *Glossary of Architecture*, i. 334.

^d Stowe's *London*, Strype's edition, fol. 1720, ii. 35.

being to the south; and on the south at Alford, Lincolnshire, and Sompting, Sussex (the latter of which has also a north aumbry) of Saxon date, and also a recess over the altar, probably a reliquary.

What the wooden structure was we only learn inferentially, and not from any English existing specimen, nor from any pictorial representations that I am acquainted with.

It would appear to have been a framework so arranged as to be put up each year, and taken down and stowed away again when the ceremony was over; which is indicated pretty clearly by incidental notices, and by the account of the ultimate fate of these articles of church furniture.

It is noteworthy that in the list of goods required by the constitutions of Walter Gray, Archbishop of York, dated 1250,^a and of Robert de Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 1305,^b to be provided as a minimum for parish churches, there is no mention of a sepulchre, although the list is by no means a small one, comprising half-a-dozen service books, vestments, candles, altar-frontals, images, and osculatory; and in the long account of goods belonging to the Temple Church,^c taken by Nicholas Pigott, one of the sheriffs of London, on the 10th of January, 1307 (1 Edward II.), there is no mention of a sepulchre, or clothes for it, or other appurtenances. It may, however, be observed, as causing some doubt of the completeness of these requirements and inventory, that neither make mention of organs.

Among the records of the expenses consequent upon its annual construction may be cited the following:—

1376. Norwich Cathedral.^d—In the treasury accounts are payments of 2s. for making the sepulchre, and the wages of workmen for four days.

1457. In the will of Thomas Aleby, Rector of Kirkby in Cleveland,^e is this passage:

Lego fabricæ cujusdam sepulcri noviter faciendi vj^s viij^d. Item lego pro co-opertura ejusdem sepulcri quemdam pannum de serico.

And in 1484 Sir Charles Pilkington^f leaves for the repairing and keeping up of the sepulchre of our Lord, at Worksop, five marks.

^a Johnson's *Canons*. ^b Lyndwood's *Provinciale*, p. 251. Gibson's *Codex*. Johnson's *Canons*.

^c In the Record Office; quoted in paper by Mr. Harrod on "Norwich Church Goods," *Norfolk Archæology*, v. 90.

^d Accounts still preserved there, *Norfolk Archæology*, v. 12.

^e *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii. (Surtees Society, vol. xxx.) 210.

^f *Ibid.* 240 n.

In the accounts of the parish of Great Yarmouth,^a 1465, are distinct payments for setting up, taking down, mending it, and fetching it in, and for a new house in the vestry to put the sepulchre in.

At Durham it is spoken of as being set up on Good Friday after the Passion.^b
St. Stephen's, Walbrook, London.^c

1476. "Paypur, nayles & paynt þ̃ le sopokeyr canope," and subsequently for "hokes" and "nayles" for the sepulchre iij^d

St. Mary at Hill, London.^d

1493. Paide to Christopher Bechen for a ƿ̃ of tymber containing	
11 feate	j ^s x ^d
Item to William Pavys for werkmanshipp and setting of the	
sepulcre	iiij ^s viij ^d
Item for a plannks ende for the one ende	vj ^d
Item for a small quart next the wall behind the sepulcre	ij ^d
Item to the smyth for 13 pyennes yryn	iiij ^d
	<hr/>
Summa	vj ^s vj ^d <hr/>

Another year.^e

Payd for the sepulcre for divers naylls and wires and glu	ix ^d . ob.
Payd to Thomas Joyner for making it	iv ^s . —
Also payd for bokeram for pennons and for the makynge ^f	xxij ^d
Also payd for betyng and steynyng of the pennons	vj ^d
1509. For disseplynyng roddis and nayles for the sepulchre	ij ^d
1516. For the chest to lay the sepulcre in	xij ^s iv ^d

St. Martin's, Leicester.^g

1546. Item for the red for y^e sepulcar ij. yere j^d

Leverton, Lincolnshire.^h

1555. For maykkyng of the sepulkkure howysse	iiij ^d
For payntyng of a clothe for the saym	ij ^s
For feycheyng of the sepulkcure clothe frome the paynt ^s att	
Boston	ij ^d

^a Swinden's *Great Yarmouth*, p. 811.

^b Davies' *Rites of Durham*, p. 22. ^c Parish Accounts (unpublished: communicated by Mr. Milbourn).

^d Nichols, *Illustrations of Manners and Expences in Antient Times*, p. 92.

^e *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii.

^f Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, 4to. ed. i. 855 n.

^g North's *Chronicle of St. Martin's, Leicester*, p. 55.

^h Churchwardens' Accounts, *Archæologia*, xli. 361.

St. Helen's, Abingdon, Berkshire.^a

1558. Payde for making the sepulture	.	.	.	.	.	x ^s
For peynting the same sepulture	.	.	.	.	.	iiij ^s
For stones & other charges about it	.	.	.	.	.	iiiij ^s vj ^d

That the sepulchres varied according to the size and wealth of the church, and were sometimes very large, and exceedingly elaborate and rich, is perfectly evident, as indeed one might expect. The grandest known sepulchre is that existing at Seville, in Spain (termed "El Monumento"), which is of the same temporary construction, though it contributes an important item to the ceremonies of that glorious cathedral, which rival the Easter ceremonies of Rome itself.^b It is an enormous wooden temple, designed and executed in 1544 by Antonio Florentin, and originally consisted *only* of three stories, terminated by a cross; but subsequent additions were made in 1624 and 1688 which have injured the effect, and rendered the whole out of proportion, even for this cathedral (the nave of which is 145 feet high). Each story rests on twenty-four columns.^c The first is of the Ionic order, containing in the centre the image of Our Lady of the Conception and other statues and bas-reliefs from the Old and New Testament; the second story is Corinthian, and in the centre is placed the monstrance containing the Host, around which are the evangelists and the twelve patron saints of Seville; the third story is composite, and contains devices from Ezekiel's Vision and the Apocalypse; and the fourth story is also composite, with the figure of the Holy Trinity in the centre, under an Iris, and beneath a cupola originally surmounted by a cross, for which a statue of *La Fé* was substituted in 1688. Older writers say that the monument used to be illuminated by 162 lamps and 722 wax candles; and even at the beginning of the present century there were 140 lamps and 441 wax lights, weighing 2,800 lbs.: 119 of the largest of them each weighing 18 lbs. When lighted up during the night of Thursday and Good Friday, after the Host is inclosed in the silver *custodia*, the effect is most marvellous, and there is nothing like it in Spain or Italy.

The large dimensions in some other localities may be gathered from the rubrical directions already quoted from the *Concordia* of St. Dunstan, and from Martene.

Its suitable maintenance was occasionally provided for by special guilds, as, for example, at Kirton-in-Lindsey, Lincolnshire, where was "the guild of the

^a *Nichols' Illustrations*, p. 141.

^b *Handbook for Spain*, s.v. Seville.

^c *Descripcion del Templo Catedral de Sevilla*, pp. 153 and 193.

sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ.”^a The Roman rubric^b directs the sepulchre to be ornamented as handsomely as possible, and to have a curtain, but not of a black colour, for the symbolic reason mentioned by Gavantus :^c

Non igitur adhibeantur panni nigri: tum quia in horto sepultus fuit Christus, tum quia crastina die super calicem adhuc erit velum album, cum reportabitur ad altare majus; tum quia vivit vere Christus, etiam in representatione mortis ejus.

And the rich decorations appear by many records.

Sarum Cathedral,^d 1214-22:

Velum unum de serico pro sepulchro.

John of Gaunt, by will^e dated 3rd February, 1397, bequeaths his bed-furniture, copes, tapestry, and “draps enbroudés pur la sepulere”—“à ma trescheer compaigne Katerin.”

1379. Sir John de Ledes, Rector of Methley, in his will,^f bequeaths as follows:

Lego duo tapeta rubea dictæ ecclesiæ meæ pro reparatione sepulcri in die Parascues.

1390. And so Agnes de Harwood, by her will.^g

Lego sepulcro in ecclesia de Blith j zonam cum argento harnesatam. Item lego ad idem ij. monilia.

That at Durham is spoken of^h as “all covered with red velvett and embrodered with gold.”

1422. Will of Roger Whelpdale, Bishop of Carlisle—ⁱ

Volo quod lectus meus, jam de novo steynet, cum toto apparatu cameræ, liberetur capellæ collegii Regina, pro diebus magnis, et potissime pro tempore Paschali, pro sepulcro Dominico, altari, et lateribus capellæ.

1440. Will of Joan Fitlyng—^k

Volo quod unus pannus meus aureus cum nigro fundamento imperpetuum custodiatur per custodes fabricæ dictæ capellæ (St. Mary the Virgin, Hull), ad ornamentum Sepulchri Domini in Festo Paschali.

^a *Proceedings of Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd series, i. 421.

^b “Luogo proprio e convenevole ed ornarlo piu decentemente che sarà possibile con veli (ma non mai di color nero), e lumi.” (*Uffizio della Settimana Santa*.)

^c Gavantus; *Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum*, pars iv. tit. viii. g.

^d Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, iv. 103.

^f *Testamenta Eboracensia*, i. (Surtees Society, vol. iv.) 106.

^h *Cosin MS.*, printed by the Surtees Society, xv. 10.

ⁱ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, iii. (Surtees Society, vol. xlv.) 68.

^e Nichols's *Royal Wills*, p. 154.

^g *Ibid.* p. 143.

^k *Ibid.* ii. 77.

1440. Sommerby, Lincoln :^a

Itm. 2 clothes of gold, of read and grene, with all the honoūmts for the sepulchre, and for other obetes, & 2 of white cloth of gold.

1449. The inventory of the goods of Sir John Clerk,^b chaplain of St. Mary Magdalen, *juxta Ebor.* :

Unus pannus steyned de resurrectione Domini.

1465. Great Yarmouth :^c

For mending an angel standing at the sepulchre.

St. Mary Redcliffe, 1470 :^d

Item, That Maister Canynge hath delivered this 4th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1470, to Maister Nicholas Petters, Vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe, Moses Conterin, Philip Bartholomew, Procurators of St. Mary Redcliffe aforesaid, a new sepulcre well gilt with golde, and a civer thereto.

Item, An image of God Almighty rising out of the same sepulchre, with all the ordinance that longeth thereto (that is to say), a lathe made of timber and the iron work therto.

Item, Therto longeth Heaven made of timber and stain'd clothes.

Item, Hell, made of timber & iron-work therto, with Divels to the number of 13.

Item, 4 Knights, armed, keeping the sepulchre with their weapons in their hands; that is to say, 2 axes & 2 spears & 2 pavés.

Item, 4 payr of Angels' wings for 4 angels, made of timber, & well painted.

Item, The Fadre, the Crowne, & Visage, the ball with a cross upon it, well gilt with fine gould.

Item, the Holy Ghosht coming out of Heaven into the Sepulchre.

Item, Longeth to the 4 Angels, 4 chevelers.

Coldingham Priory :^e

In empcone unius ymaginis pro Resurreccione.

An inventory of ornaments belonging to the church of St. Margaret Pattens, London, made in 1470,^f mentions among "Clothes for Ymages"

A grete cloth of tapestrie werke to hang upon the Walls by hynde the Sepulcur;

And also

A steyned cloth of Sepulcur werke with the resurrection, the passion, and with other werkes.

And in another list of ornaments and gifts belonging to the same church, between 1479 and 1486,^g is the entry—

Item, Anod^r crosse for the Sepulcour havynge relikes therein.

^a *Lincolnshire Church Inventories*, p. 183, edited by E. Peacock, Esq. F.S.A.

^b *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii. (Surtees Society, vol. xxx.) 151. ^c Swinden's *Great Yarmouth*, p. 811.

^d Britton's *History of Redcliffe Church*, p. 47. ^e *Glossary of Architecture*, s. v. Sepulchre, note.

^f Printed in the *Union Review*, May, 1867, v. 298. ^g *Ibid.* p. 301.

At Cranbrook, Kent,^a in an inventory made in 1509, there are mentioned—

ij paynted clothes for y^e sepulker & a fronte to hang und^r y^e taperrs.

Chichester Cathedral,^b beginning of the sixteenth century :

A Clothe of fync arays with a border of Clothe of golde of Crystys passyon contayning vj yards dim. pro sepulcro, xiii^{li} vj^s viij^d.

1520. Margaret Hawarden, of Chester, by her will^c leaves as follows :

Item, unto the parish church of Saynt Olave a small flaxen shete, ij towells of twill for the sepultur in tyme of Estur; a borde cloth of twill to be a alter cloth to the hye alter, &c.

Hurstmonceaux, Sussex.^d 1531. Thomas Ffenys, Lord Dacre, wills that a tomb be there made for placing the Sepulchre of our Lord, “and apparell to be made and bought for the said sepulere at my cost and charge, in honour of the most blissed Sacrament.”

The Durham sepulchre^e is described as “all covered with red velvett and embrodered with gold;” and the inventory of Lincoln Cathedral mentions the sepulchre there as having a white stained cloth of damask silk; and that at Lambeth was white.^f The inventory of the plate, jewels, &c., at Ely Cathedral, 20th Nov. 1540, mentions a red pall for the sepulchre.^g

In the will of Sir Richard Rede, of Redeborne, Herts, dated 27th March, 1559,^h and proved 5th July, 1576, is the following clause :

I gyve unto the Cathedrall church of St. Paule, in london, my litle embrodered Cloath wroughte with the Resurrection of our Saviour Christe Jesus, whiche I think was first made to hange aboute the middest of an Altare, about or beneath, in the feast daye of the Resurrection.

Sir John Tyrell by his will, dated 20th February, 1540,ⁱ gives to the church of Little Warley, Essex, “all the clothes that be usyd about the sepulchar every year.”

1548. Eastwood, Essex,^k

Sold. A sepulker of wood gylt, to Thomas Tyler of Rocheford . . . x^s

At Sowthe, and also at Fordingbridge, Hants,^l was a sepulchre-cloth, yellow and blue satin of Bruges. The inventory of the goods of Dame Agnes Hunger-

^a *Ecclesiologist*, June, 1868.

^b *Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1865, p. 768; communicated by Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, F.S.A.

^c *Lancashire and Cheshire Wills and Inventories*, Chetham Society, li. 8.

^d Prerogative Registry, 13 Hogen.

^e *Cosin MS.* (Surtees Society) xv. 10 : also (from the same MS.) Davies's *Rites of Durham*, p. 22.

^f *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. iii. ; and Nichols's *Illustrations*, p. 137.

^g *Ibid.*

^h Prerogative Registry, 20 Carew. ⁱ *Ibid.* 25 Alengar. ^k *Essex Archaeological Collections*, iv. 219.

^l *Inventories of Church-goods* ; printed in *Church Review*, 27th January, 1866.

ford,^a attainted in 1552, mentions “a canabe of a russet velvet, frynged with red & grene sylke, with all sylke thynkes belonging to the sepulker.” The cloth at Farley, Surrey,^b was of red and green silk; at Walton-on-Thames^c it was of white and red satin: at Streatham^d was a hanging of damask and silk: at Wimbeldon^e were “ij clothes of cors clothe of gold for the sepulchre:” and in the will of John Fitlyng, 1440,^f occurs this direction:—

Volo quod unus pannus meus aureus cum nigro fundamento imperpetuum custodiatur per custodes fabricæ dictæ Capellæ (B. M. V., Hull,) ad ornamentum sepulcri Domini in Festo Paschali.

In the inventory of St. Paul’s Cathedral, 6th Edward VI. (1552), are mentioned two rich cloths for the garnishing of the sepulchre, and two smaller of needlework, one of them of the Sepulchre and the other of the Resurrection.^g At St. Nicholas Cold Abbey was a sepulchre cloth stained with the Resurrection.^h In fact, the church inventories taken at this date comprise numbers of stained or painted cloths for the sepulchre. One at Stanbridge Magna, Essex, was ultimately sold for iij^s.ⁱ At St. Mary Colechurch, London,^k the cover of the sepulchre was sold in 1552 for vj^s xiiij^d; and there remained a frame of iron.

The ceremonies connected with the Easter sepulchre continued in use during a very long period of time. Their very early origin is evident from the mention in the *Concordia Dunstani* (previously noticed), which fixes A.D. 988 (the year of his death) as the latest possible date; and as they are then referred to not as a novelty, but as an established custom recorded with others in a semi-rubrical form, the date is carried back to a considerably earlier period.

Records of this ceremony from time to time may be traced down to the middle of the sixteenth century. On Good Friday, 1538, Bishop Longland, at the end of a sermon before Henry VIII. said:—

In meane season I shall exhorte you all in our Lord God, as of old custom hath here this day bene used, every one of you, or ye departe, with most entire devoeyon, knelynge to fore our

^a *Archæologia*, xxxviii. 362.

^c *Ibid.* p. 162.

^e *Ibid.* p. 134.

^g *Church Review*, 4th Nov. 1865.

ⁱ About to appear in *Essex Archæological Society’s Collections*, vol. iv.

^k Parish accounts (unpublished, communicated by Mr. Milbourn).

^b *Surrey Archæological Collections*, vol. iv. p. 57.

^d *Ibid.* p. 126.

^f *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii. (Surtees Society, vol. xxx.) 77.

^h *Ibid.* 14th Oct. 1865.

Saviour Lorde God, this our Jesus Christ which has suffered soo much for us, to whome we are soo much bounden, whoo lyeth in yonder sepulchre, in honore of hym, of his passyon and deathe, and of his 5 woundes, to say 5 Pater-nosters, 5 Aves & one *Credo* ; that it may please his mercifull goodness to make us parteners of the merites of this his most gloryous passyon, bloode, and deathe.

By Cromwell's Injunctions, 1538,^a as already mentioned, the clergy were not to suffer any candles or tapers to be set before any image, but only the light by the rood loft, the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulchre ; these were allowed to stand for the ornamenting the church and the solemnity of divine service.

This was, however, one of the first of the various ceremonies which were abolished in England about the period of the Reformation.

The Visitation Articles of Archbishop Cranmer, 2nd Edward VI. (1549),^b inquire :—

Item. Whether they had, upon Good Friday last past, the Sepulchres with their lights, having the Sacrament therein.

Ridley and Hooper both reprobated the customs connected with the making of the Sepulchre : the former speaks as follows :^c—

Thou must be contributor also to the charges of all their popery, as of books for Antichrist's service, of lights of the roodloft, of *the Sepulchre*, for setting up and painting of images, nay indeed, of idols ; and thou must bear a face to worship them also, or else thou must be had by the back (imprisoned).

And in his Visitation Articles, 4th Edward VI. (1550), he inquires :^d—

Whether any useth to hallow water, bread, salt, bells, or candles upon Candlemas day, ashes on Ash Wednesday, palms on Palm Sunday, the font on Easter Even, fire on Paschal, or whether there was any *sepulchre* on Good Friday.

While Hooper says :^e—

The ploughman, be he never so unlearned, shall better be instructed of Christ's death and passion by the corn that he soweth in the field, and likewise of Christ's resurrection, than by all the dead posts that hang in the church, or are pulled out of the sepulchre with "*Christus resurgens*." What resemblance hath the taking of the cross out of the sepulchre and going a procession with

^a Collier's *Church History*, ii. 150.

^b *Sparrow's Collection*, p. 29.

^c *Ridley's Works* (Parker Society), p. 67.

^d *Sparrow's Collection*, p. 37.

^e *Early Writings of Bishop Hooper* (Parker Society), p. 45.

it, with the resurrexion of Christ ? None at all : the dead post is as dead when they sing, "*Jam non moritur*," as it was when they buried it with "*In pace factus est locus ejus*."

At St. Martin's, Leicester, the custom still prevailed in 1544, as appears by the parish accounts:^a

More oing to the Chirch the same day by Henry Mabley for the
sepulere light x^s.

So at Minchinhampton in 1551:^b

Item to Rych. Rysley for watchyng the sepulker xii^d.
To John Long for watchyng vi^d.

And in the same year that Minchinhampton continued the ancient usage, the not distant parish of St. Mary, Reading, destroyed the sepulchre itself. These entries occur in the accounts of St. Mary's, Reading, for 1551:^c

Receyvid of Henry More for the sepulker xiijs. iiij^d.
Receyvid of John Webb for the toumbe of brycke xij^d.

1552. In the certificate of the "lacke of sondere parcells of vestments," &c., of the late Guilds of Boston, 20 August, 1552,^d is the following mentioned as sold:—

Item a sepulchre with the appurē xxvj^s. viij^d.

At Barnes,^e Surrey, an old sepulchre was sold with consent of the parish for 2s. 6d.; and at Wandsworth,^f in the same county, broken timber and wainscot (probably the rood-screen) and the sepulchre were sold for 13s. 4d.

At St. Martin's, Leicester,^g the sepulchre lights, *i.e.*, the metal of its lamps and sockets, were sold to "Rychard Raynford waying iij score and xv li., at iij^d. ob. per lib., xxj^s. x^d ob."

The church inventories taken in the reign of King Edward VI. show how general the wooden structures were. For example, at Downe, near Hayes, Kent, was a "sepulchre of wood;"^h at Sunninghill, Berks, a "sepulchre of timber;"ⁱ at Barkeston, Lincolnshire,^k one is described as of "lattes;" and those at Blyton, Lin-

^a North's *History of St. Martin's, Leicester*, p. 29.

^b Parish accounts quoted in North's *Leicester*, p. 56 n.

^c Coates' *Reading*, p. 130.

^d *Lincolnshire Church Inventories*, edited by Peacock; Appendix.

^e *Surrey Archæological Collections*, iv. 92.

^f *Ibid.* p. 132.

^g North's *Leicester*, p. 57.

^h *Church Inventories for Kent*, *Church Review*, 8th Sept. 1866.

Church Review, 30th Sept. 1865.

^k *Lincolnshire Church Inventories*, p. 39.

colnshire,^a and Hanbury, Staffordshire,^b were of wainscot ; that at Eastwood, Essex, of wood, gilt, was sold for 10s. ;^c and in the Lincolnshire inventories they are not only frequently mentioned, but the fact of their being usual is more strikingly illustrated by the note that in two churches (Barholme and Dunsbie^d) they had none. The same inventories probably may be taken as showing their ordinary fate. A few, indeed, were cared for, and the cloths converted to a covering for the communion-table, as at Wimbledon and Weybridge, Surrey.^e Out of those in Lincolnshire about half were burnt, or broken, or sold, and defaced. One was burnt in melting lead, and another for the glazier, whilst the rest were mostly altered and converted to other purposes—some to make communion-tables, and others became presses, biers, hen-pens, steps, and necessities.

The ceremony was gradually revived in the time of Queen Mary.

1554. In the Harleian MSS. No. 416,^f is a note that this year commandment was given that in all churches in London the sepulchre should be had up again, and that every man should bear palms and go to shrift.

1555. The accounts of the parish of Leverton, Lincolnshire,^g contain charges for making the sepulchre house, and painting a cloth for the same.

1558. In this year are the charges at Abingdon and St. Mary, Reading (previously quoted) for making, painting, and watching the sepulchre, and for stones and other charges about it.

1559, Jan. 29th. In the will of Randall Ward, of Mykyll Usburne, Richmondshire,^h is this bequest :

I gyffe to the church e ij buschells of barlye * * bestowed at y^e dyscrecōn off the churchewardons, and sett uppe a candell before the sepulchur every yere, to be prayed for.

But the ceremony was soon again put down.

1560. Winterton, Lincolnshire :ⁱ

Item the Jewes light, the pascall post, the sepulchre, the mayden's lighte were burned in the A^o. 2^o. Eliz.

^a *Lincolnshire Church Inventories*, p. 52.

^b *Church Review*, 2nd Nov. 1867.

^c *Essex Church Inventories*, *Essex Archaeological Society's Transactions*, iv. 219.

^d *Lincolnshire Church Inventories*, pp. 37, 73.

^e *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, iv. 157, 162.

^f *Church Review*, 24th Feb. 1866.

^g *Archæologia*, xli. 361 : quoted above.

^h *Richmondshire Wills and Inventories* (Surtees Society, vol. xxvi.) p. 143.

ⁱ *Lincolnshire Church Inventories*, p. 164.

1561. St. Lawrence, Reading :^a

Receyved for the sepulchre xxvj^s. viij^d.

a high value.

1565. In the Visitation Articles of Bentham, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield,^b art. 21 directs (among other things)—

That you do abolish and put away clean out of your church all monuments of idolatry and superstition—as holy-water stocks, Sepulchres which were used on Good Friday, hand-bells, & all manner of idols * * * & that you dam up all manner of hollow places in your chancel or church walls.

1566. Belton, Lincolnshire :^c

Itm., a Sepulker with little Jack broken in pieces this year by the said churchwardens.

The fact of there being no example of a wooden sepulchre which has survived the general destruction shows the powerful prejudice against this Easter ceremony which prevailed at the time of the Reformation. Even with respect to the monumental brasses engraved with the Resurrection it will be observed that they have almost all been displaced, which is not likely to have happened accidentally.

A deep feeling of respect for the spot on which the sepulchre was accustomed to be placed continued in many minds for some time after the ceremonies had ceased to be observed. Thus for example :—

1559. Nov. 18th. (1st Eliz.) Thomas Burrell of Stetchworth, Cambridgeshire,^d directs :—

My boddie to be buried in the holly sepulere in the church of Sainte Peeter of Stetchwourthe.

1562. Dec. 20.^e Richard Codington desires his burial on the north side of the chancel whereat the sepulchre in times past was accustomed to stand.

^a Coates's *Reading*, 221.

^b *Church Review*, 15th August, 1868.

^c *Lincolnshire Church Inventories*, p. 46; "Little Jack" probably meaning the Pyx. Bishop Ridley had to defend himself for that in a sermon preached at "Paul's Cross" he had rebuked the unreverend behaviour of certain evil disposed persons who had fixed railing bills against the Sacrament, terming it "Jack of the Box," &c.—*Ridley's Works* (Parker Society), p. 265.

^d Prerogative Registry, 31 Mellersh.

^e Quoted in *Church Review*; but the reference to Prerogative Registry there given is incorrect.

1563. April 26. Dame Ann Packington, by her will,^a directs—

My bodie to be buried in that parrishe churche where it shall please God to ende my lief, or where my executors shall thinke mete, at thende of the highe aulter wheras the sepulture was used moste commonly to stande, if the roome and place maie be suffered; or els at thother ende of the highe alter.

1569. January 2. Sir William Wareham, by his will,^b directs—

My bodie to be buried in the chauncell of the church of Ocle (Essex) by the highe aultare where as the sepulchre was wonte to stand.

As a *resumé*. It has been first shown that the mediæval Easter sepulchre was intended for the purpose of commemorating our Lord's entombment by means of a rubrical rite, which in exceptional instances approached very nearly to a mystery. Next, that the structure was a temporary wooden one, richly decorated with hangings, set on the north side of the chancel (sometimes having a tomb or recess as a nucleus), wherein was deposited, in England, the reserved Host with a cross, from Good Friday to Easter morn, during which time a light burnt before it, and a watch was kept in remembrance of the guard of Roman soldiers. And, finally, that the custom was in use in this country at least from the time of St. Dunstan to that of King Edward VI.; that it was revived during the brief reign of Queen Mary, and afterwards it ceased to be observed in the English Church.

^a Prerogative Registry, 10 Stephenson.

^b Prerogative Registry, 1 Holney.

XIII.—*On the Opening and Removal of a Tomb in Winchester Cathedral, reputed to be that of King William Rufus. By the REV. JAMES GERALD JOYCE, B.A., F.S.A., Rector of Stratfieldsaye, and Local Secretary for Hampshire.*

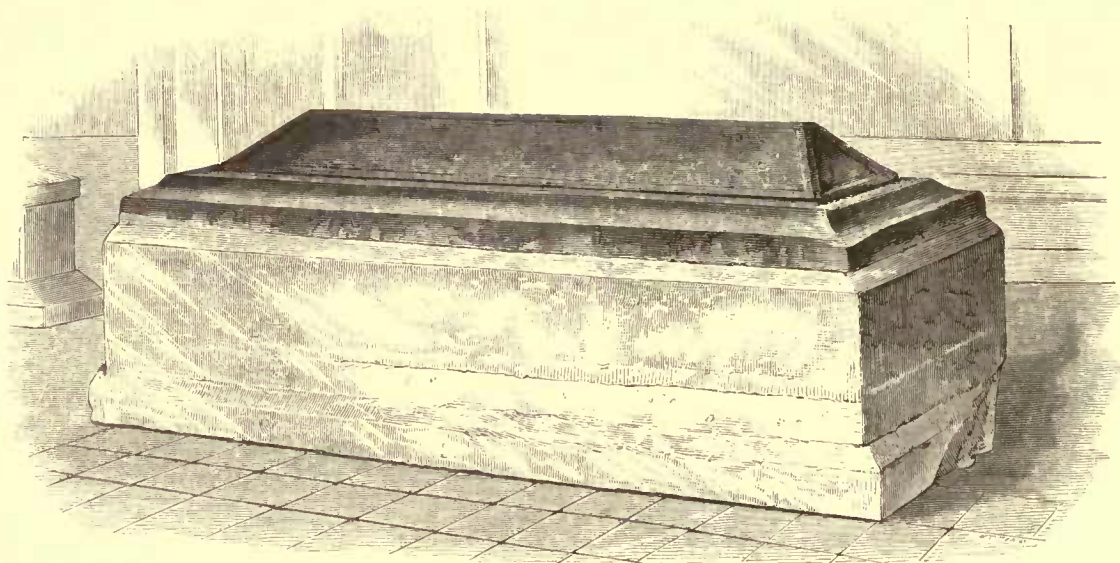
Read February 18, 1869.

A TOMB, or more strictly speaking a stone coffin with a coped top, which for some centuries past has been described as the tomb of King William Rufus, in Winchester Cathedral, was opened, and its contents ascertained, by direction of the Vice-Dean (the Ven. Archdeacon Jacob) on August 27th 1868. Subsequently to the examination it then underwent, its position within the building was changed on the 15th September following. No previous notice of the transaction having been given, except to a few persons residing in the town of Winchester, I have to regret that it was not in my power to be present either at the opening or the removal. As an interest of no ordinary kind attaches to this monument, I have considered the matter to be of sufficient consequence to collect together a summary of the particulars. The tomb has long been reputed to be the resting-place of the first of the great line of English sovereigns of the present dynasty buried in England; but besides this, the fatality which caused his death, the mystery in which it was shrouded, the superstitious hatred of the man, which believed the wrath of Heaven to have followed him in the Cathedral where he lay, and to have hurled over his grave the ruins of the central tower, all contribute to invest with peculiar associations this venerable memorial; to which I have now to add another point of interest, namely, that an archæological question arises for solution as to the actual identity of the tomb so recently opened, and the remains it contained, with the tomb and the remains of the Red King.

I shall first describe the tomb itself, and the position it occupied up to September last, and will then give some particulars of the opening and removal.

The stone coffin is an oolitic block, which measures 7 ft. 5 in. in length, by 3 ft. 2½ in. in breadth at the head, and 2 ft. 4½ in. at the foot. The exact height to which its exposed part rose above the pavement, as it stood last August, is now difficult to ascertain, but it was about 1 ft. 5 in. Below the pave-

ment a portion was buried, hiding under the floor a chamfered plinth which had been worked all round it; and, to all appearance, the coffin had been thus let in to the ground in order to conceal the fact that this plinth was much defaced from having been chopped or broken away. Upon the oolitic stone rests a slab of Purbeck, coped in the form accurately described by Milner as the *dos d'âne*, or "ass's-back." This Purbeck slab has been polished, and rises along the ridge of its centre to a thickness of about 11 in. over the coffin. For reasons which will appear, it must be noticed, that this coped top is of very considerable solidity, and has been wrought to its present shape with much labour. It is one solid slab, but is carved so as to exhibit to the eye two members, one resting on the other; the upper of these resembles a coped lid or cover in shape, and has a slight flat fillet in relief bordering all its edges. There is no cross, and no trace of any inscription.



THE REPUTED TOMB OF WILLIAM RUFUS.

(From a Photograph.)

The position of this tomb, up to September last, was in the centre line of the choir, close to the foot of the steps which ascend directly to the Holy Table. It stood at a distance of about 15 feet westward of the lowest step, the foot of the coffin being toward the east.

On Thursday, August 27th, 1868, in presence of the Vice-Dean, Dr. Richards, the Senior Surgeon of the County Hospital, with three other medical men,

Mr. Colson, Architect of the Cathedral, Mr. Moody, Curator of the local Museum, and the Town Clerk, this interesting tomb was opened by the removal of the top.

The interior measured 6 ft. 8 in. in length, was about 20 to 22 in. in depth, and was shaped to receive the head. The coffin was found to contain human bones. These, however, were not in the state in which they had been originally deposited. They had undergone extreme displacement, a fact rendered evident by many proofs, but more particularly by the two heel-bones being discovered about the middle of the coffin. All the bones were removed carefully from the dust in which they were embedded, and were laid out, in their proper relation to each other, upon the pavement. The skeleton of a male, about 5 ft. 8 in. to 5 ft. 10 in. in height, but not quite complete, was thus obtained.

The following list of the remains is summarized from letters addressed by the surgeons present to the local newspapers :

The skull much broken, many fragments but 1 in. to 1½ in. in diameter, the two temporal bones, and the right orbit, nearly entire, the lower jaw broken into two unequal pieces, but, though incomplete, very massive; portions of sixteen vertebræ, only the two upper being tolerably perfect; parts of six ribs only; the pelvis-bones very imperfect; part of a collar-bone, the blade-bones, the upper and forearm, three wrist-bones, and some finger-bones. Of the lower extremities, the thigh-bones were present, but broken, the necks being separated from the shafts, and the knobs and corners injured as if knocked against hard substances; a knee-pan; parts of the small bones of both legs; the entire of one and portion of the other of the large bones; (one of the surgeons observed that the piece left of the right tibia was very much heavier than the whole of the left, which was very perfect,) the bones of the feet almost complete, and nine teeth remarkably sound and good.

It was considered by the surgeons who assisted at the opening that the violence done to these remains had taken place long after they were committed to the tomb. The smaller bones of the skeleton, such as those of the hand or of the foot, were scattered apart from each other, and were not found lying close together; they must therefore have suffered disturbance long after the flesh had left them. It appeared equally likely that the disturbance occurred at a date remote from the present time, as they were now in a state of advanced decay, and would not have endured any violence without becoming entirely broken.

Although the condition in which these remains were discovered shows not only that violence was done them, but that they were replaced without order,

yet the surgeons present have expressed their conviction that these bones are portions of one skeleton. The joints which were capable of being fitted together matched as one elbow, the bones of the feet, and the first two vertebræ; and moreover certain of the bones are of the same size, in pairs, and rights and lefts.

The coffin was entirely emptied of its contents, which were examined with great care. It contained, besides these relics of humanity, a quantity of dust singularly heavy in the hand, the weight of which was attributed to the presence throughout it of minute fragments of lead, described as being "bent, twisted, crystalline, and brittle." Dispersed through the dust were also particles of clothing, of various textures, of which a more detailed account follows; there was also found a small carved ivory head, remarkably similar to those which occur in Norman work, the purpose of which it is hard to divine; it has a socket-hole scooped in it at the end, and places for a rivet to pass through it, so as to fasten it. It is beautifully executed, and is of a greenish hue, as if stained by contact with bronze; it possibly might have formed the handle or knob of a very small knife worn in a sheath. (See Plate XVII.) A single small turquoise stone of oval shape, parted from the setting, was also found; and lastly, the fragments of a weapon, perhaps a boar-spear. These fragments consisted of an iron spear or javelin head, originally about 9 inches in length, but when found, in two separate pieces, much corroded; one, the point blunted, and the other, the socket, with the tapered end of the shaft still in it; also, the remains of the shaft itself, to the length of about 3 ft. 6 in., chopped into small bits, 2 to 3 inches long each. Some of these were chopped clean, but most were half cut and half broken; the fracture showed an oval section about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in the longer and 1 in. in the shorter diameter, and the shaft had been tapered toward the head.

Such is a summary of the contents of this most interesting tomb. I am indebted to the kindness of the Dean of Winchester (who was absent from the deanery at the time this examination took place, and who was not cognizant of it), and also to the courtesy of the Vice-Dean, for permission to exhibit some of these articles on this occasion. I am also indebted to Dr. Richards, one of the medical gentlemen who was present, for the following analysis of the fragments of clothing now laid before you:—

- "1. Cloth, red-brown hue.
- "2. Fine muslin, striped.
- "3. Rather coarser muslin without stripe.
- "4. Fine closely-woven muslin of firmer texture than the other specimens.
- "5. Twilled material, something like serge in pattern, with fine threads.





“6. Twill with coarser fibre, and of much thicker make.

“7. Closely-woven material like linen, with coarser threads running across at regular intervals.

“8. Thick firm cloth, resembling a stocking in make, covered with particles of mineral of a whitish glittering appearance.

“9. A ribbed braid of twisted threads.

“10. Seven different patterns of gold braid.” (These latter are represented in Plate XVII.)

I have in the next place to describe to you very briefly the replacing of the body and the removal of the tomb to its present site. I shall do this in the words of a short report drawn up by Mr. Colson, architect of the Cathedral. Mr. Colson, after briefly stating the particulars already before you, goes on to say as follows :—

“The bones and remains were reverently returned to the tomb, and the lid cemented down; and on the 15th September, 1868, the tomb was carefully removed to the presbytery, and placed between the chantries of Bishop Waynflete and Cardinal Beaufort, being 108 feet eastward of the site it occupied on the 27th August, 1868.

“The tomb had doubtless been removed before, as it was found that the plinth had been hacked away and buried beneath the pavement line, and the mortar underneath was comparatively modern.”

Before I now pass away from the particulars of the opening of this tomb, it is proper to mention that two or three pieces of mortar lay in the tomb with morsels of cloth and bone embedded, attributed to the last date when the Purbeck slab had been replaced over the remains. There were also found inside it some pieces of flat cork, a few nutshells, half a dozen iron nails with heads, some fragments of iron, some twigs with bark upon them, and some small pieces of trimmed wood the size of a pencil. In the bottom of the coffin were certain holes, whether meant to permit the exudation of moisture or to facilitate the removal of the stone was not clear, but a burrow directly beneath the site indicated that the nutshells, the twigs, and perhaps the pieces of cork, were in all probability to be referred to the presence of mice. The weapon, such as it was, was replaced with the remains when the top was cemented down; and I regret to add that no drawing has been preserved either of this, or of the appearance presented by the tomb itself upon being opened.

It is quite impossible to part with this venerable tomb without some remarks as to its identification.

The earliest authority for this stone coffin, standing where it did above the pavement of Winchester Cathedral up to September last, being styled the tomb of King William Rufus, will be found to be a manuscript in the handwriting of Henry Earl of Clarendon, bearing this title: "Some account of the Tombs and Monuments in the Cathedral Church of Winchester, finished this 17th day of February, 1683," and signed by that nobleman. This manuscript was the original list of these memorials which Gale thirty-two years after adopted and added to, as he states in his preface, which bears date 1715, "to which (MS.) there is now added a continuation of the inscriptions in the Church to this time."^a There is evidence, therefore, to show that as far back as 1683 this tomb was undoubtedly accepted, and apparently without any question, as the actual stone coffin which had held the remains of the King. But it was then fully believed to be quite empty, and to contain no human relics. Gale's statement, taken, as it would appear, from the manuscript of Lord Clarendon, is in these words, speaking of the choir, "In the area, at the ascent to the altar, is a raised monument of greyish marble, in which lay interred William Rufus, before it was broken open and rifled in the late rebellion." He implies that William Rufus was not lying there when he wrote. He did not know that a body had been replaced within this coffin.

This violation of the tombs at Winchester is stated, in the inscription placed in 1661 upon one of the mortuary chests presently to be noticed, to have been committed in 1642; which date was but forty-one years before Clarendon's list was made. It is, therefore, within reasonable probability that, whatever other errors that list may have contained, Gale is at least not wrong in the description of what was found by those who had rifled this tomb. "In the tomb of William Rufus," says he, "which was broke open by the rebels in the time of the civil wars, was found the dust of that king, some relics of cloth of gold, a large gold ring, and a small silver chalice." However we are to reconcile the matter, these articles were believed by Gale and by Gale's informants to have been inclosed in the very tomb we are now discussing: and, assuming that the attribution of the tomb rested on some good authority, we find ourselves obliged to be ready with some explanation of the extraordinary fact, that a silver chalice, which was the peculiar mark of a priest's interment, was laid within the coffin of a king notorious even to his latest word ("trahe, diabolus"—shoot away, devil) for his contempt of sacred things, and who is especially stigmatized by the

^a Gale's History of Winchester.

chroniclers nearest his own date as having died, after a life of crime, by an instantaneous death, without the opportunity of being shriven, and without the *viaticum* and who left behind him the implicit popular belief that he was hurried untimely by an evil spirit (in the words of Matthew Paris), “*ad judicium suum.*”

If we accept the finding of the silver chalice along with the body that reposed in this coffin when the rebels broke it open (which they unquestionably did), we must hesitate before we can reconcile ourselves to the belief that it was the Red King. King John, as we know, was buried in a monk’s cowl, but that was a sort of fashion at his time; whereas there is no other instance that I am aware of, of a layman of vile character, and who died without the sacraments of the Church, being confined with a vessel which has ever been held peculiarly sacred, and which, when found buried with the dead, is the symbol of the priesthood.

But leaving for the present the stone coffin and its Purbeck lid, Lord Clarendon and Gale equally appear to have overlooked the fact (for they were not really unaware of it) that the body of Rufus had been removed out of the tomb in which he was originally laid (whether this or another) many years before the civil war broke out.

There are two very trustworthy witnesses to this circumstance; the one is Stowe, who wrote at a time (1592) within the recent memory of the fact itself, and the other is the inscription upon the mortuary chest into which the bones of Rufus were translated (1525), and which inscription was repeated a second time (1661).

First, the evidence of Stowe. It is observable that, in his “*Annales*,” he gives almost a literal version of the account of Rufus’s death as delivered by the Latin chroniclers, and then subjoins a description of the tomb in which the body once lay, as it would seem from personal observation:—

“King William, on the morrowe after Lammas Day, hunting in the New Forest of Hampshire, in a place called Chorengam, where since a chappell was builded, Sir Walter Tyrell shooting at a Deere, unawares hit the King in the breast, that he fell down starke dead, and never spake worde. He dyed in the yeere of Christ 1100, & in the 13. yeere of his raygne, on the second day of August, when he had raygned 12 yeeres, 11 moneths, lacking eight days, & was buried at Winchester, in the Cathedrall Church or Monastery of Saynt Swithen, under a playne flat marble stone, before the lecterne in the queere, but long since his bones were translated in a coffer and layd with King Cnute’s bones.”

This is an extract from the quarto edition of Stowe’s *Annales*, printed in London in 1592; and the translation of the bones of Rufus, to be laid beside

those of Canute, had taken place about sixty-seven years before, that is to say, about the year 1525. If the inscription upon the mortuary chest stood quite alone it might be supposed to have been an error which perchance might have crept in at a late date, in reproducing some older writing upon it; but, corroborated by this statement of Stowe, it is impossible to disregard it.

Next the evidence of the mortuary chest.

There are six of these chests; they stand three on each side of the upper portion of the choir, upon the lateral screens within which Bishop Fox inclosed this part of the church. Those at the end furthest from the Holy Table on both sides suffered more in the rebellion than the others, and on examination we observe that the inscriptions upon these are not the originals. Upon the third chest on the south side was originally inscribed (1525), according to Gale, "*Hic jacent ossa^a Cnutonis et Willelmi Rufi.*" The present version is as follows: "*In hac et alterâ è regione cistâ, reliquiæ sunt ossium Canuti et Rufi Regum, Emmæ Reginae, Winæ et Alwini episcoporum.*" The corresponding chest referred to shows that this altered form of title was placed there in 1661. It bears the inscription, "*In hac cista A.D. 1661, promiscuè recondita sunt ossa Principum et Prælatorum, sacrilegâ barbarie dispersa, A.D. 1642.*" I quote this date (1661) to prove that it was then the belief that in replacing certain remains of the dead, disturbed sacrilegiously twenty years before, so far as they then identified any portion of them to be the body of William Rufus, they put them back within this particular chest to which they had been translated in 1525, and did not then transpose them to any other sepulchre, nor to the tomb now lately opened. It really cannot, therefore, with any fairness be denied that the repeating of the same attribution to Rufus for the second time in 1661 upon this chest, which has never since been disturbed, and the fact that it was repeated immediately after his remains were supposed to be recovered from their violation, afford a strong presumption that they did not lie in August 1868 in a stone coffin upon the floor of the same choir.

But in reality the question turns upon the fact, not of the rebels having dispersed the remains, but upon the truth or falsehood of the first inscription on this chest, placed there by Bishop Fox. The screens erected by Fox upon

^a The inscription upon the first tomb of Canute is given thus in Milner (p. 58, quoted from "Trussel") :—

"*Moribus inclutus jacet hic Rex nomine Cnutus.*"

This is stated to have been over his body when it lay buried before the high altar, the position occupied by the tomb hitherto assigned to Rufus. Canute's name, however, inscribed with others at the back of the choir wall (east), renders it doubtful whether the body lay in front of the altar.

which he put these mortuary chests are dated, as is well known; they not only have ciphers and badges sculptured on them, but the date 1525 is carved upon that which stands on the north side. I am not aware that any doubt has ever been cast upon the veracity of the inscriptions he ordered to be placed upon these receptacles of the mighty dead, nor had he any reason whatever to wish to mislead. Unless we are prepared to believe that this great prelate and noble benefactor of the Cathedral, the founder of Corpus Christi College at Oxford, was guilty of a purposeless and deliberate deceit, the remains of King Rufus ceased to repose in a tomb in 1525; and though there is proof enough that they were not permitted to rest where Bishop Fox placed them, there is not a shadow of evidence that they were at any time restored to a tomb. For anything that can be traced to the contrary, until Fox moved them they had been left untouched where they were laid at the first—that is to say, in the very centre of the choir, and beneath the middle of the tower. The words of William of Malmesbury imply also that the body was not laid in a tomb above ground, but was deposited in the earth; and I may add that Stowe's description applies far better to such a mode of interment than to an elevated coffin placed above the pavement. William of Malmesbury says, "*Infra ambitum turris (cadaver) terræ traditum.*" Stowe's words are, that he was buried "under a plain flat marble stone."

Milner's authority is so deservedly great as to Winchester Cathedral that it is but right to say he accepts this tomb from Gale, as Gale had done from Lord Clarendon. He also supposed it to be empty.

It will now be quite evident that we have two entirely distinct questions: one as to the identification of the tomb; and the other as to that of the remains.

As to the coffin, it was not on its original site in August 1868. This is more certain from the mortar rubbish on which it stood, than from its being partially sunk, for the choir-floor might have risen round it by one pavement being laid over another. The oolitic block which forms the coffin was itself intended originally to stand above ground, as the chamfered plinth round its base distinctly proves. The coped slab of Purbeck above it points to the same intention; in fact, as I have already stated, the coped slab is worked in two members, one appearing as if it rested on the other, and the upper represents a lid or cover, so that under no circumstances could it have been buried in the middle of the choir so as to be laid level with the floor. Taking these points with us, if we are to assume its identity with the coffin of Rufus, we are bound to follow it back from where it was last year, and trace it into the past till we can replace it under the centre of the tower. Altered in position at some previous time

it certainly had been, but not between 1868 and 1683, and in 1683 it carried so great authority in its favour, that its authenticity does not seem to have been questioned. Going still backward we must conclude that no change in the position of this coffin occurred between 1683 and the Rebellion; therefore, what we arrive at as historical fact is this, that it emerges from the deluge of the Great Rebellion as a Royal tomb, robbed of its King. At this point we confront a difficulty. It had been then violated—its contents were remembered—the dead body, the ring, the chalice, the “relics of cloth of gold.” It ought to have been empty. Who was the illustrious stranger occupying so remarkable a position in another man’s coffin? We carry the research further back. It was occupied in 1642. Are we to conclude that it was empty in 1525? If Rufus’s, it certainly was so. Bishop Fox had then removed the remains of Rufus to the chest upon the screen. If this stood there as an empty tomb under the tower in 1525, did he remove this tomb, when emptied, to where it lately stood? Fox made improvements in the choir, and carried his alterations over many years. It is certainly possible that this tomb, if standing above the pavement in the centre of the choir, might have been inconvenient, and if emptied of its remains, might have been removed; but in our anxiety to vindicate its authenticity we are at least bound to ask whether Fox was likely, after having translated the body of the Red King to the screen, to have brought the empty stone after the body which once filled it, and to have laid this cenotaph before the high altar of his Cathedral, in the most honourable place of all, in the very centre of his own improvements in the choir, merely in memory of a wicked king, and a notorious oppressor of the Church; whilst the dust of confessors and saintly benefactors slept around unhonoured by any such special mark of distinction. I feel that with the utmost wish to claim this as a royal tomb for the Cathedral Church of the diocese to which I belong, it is more honest to acknowledge that we have here lost our clue, and that unless some other evidence should happily come to light we have no certainty to allege. No one could in my opinion describe a body entombed within this coffin in the words Stowe has used,—which words, be it remembered, were written in the interval between Fox and the Rebellion,—that such remains were buried “under a plain flat marble stone.” Failing other light than at this point, let us look for that which cannot mislead if rightly interpreted; let us examine the style and character of the tomb itself. To what age shall we refer these? Whether tenanted by Rufus or by another, is this tomb Norman or is it earlier? Upon this point I can but venture an opinion with great humility; my opinion however certainly is that the general

style and character of the monument may point to an age^a even earlier than that of the second Norman king.

After having ventured to say so much about the stone coffin, there can be but little which remains as regards the identification of the body. Yet there are arguments which might weigh with some,—the weapon found with the dust may have been, and indeed perhaps was, a hunting spear, so far there might be a possibility that Rufus was buried with the same weapon he held in his hand when the fatal arrow entered his heart; the ivory ornament is of very early date, not later than the Norman Dynasty, and it indicates that the remains in the tomb were of remote antiquity. The condition of the bones, in my judgment, points to the same conclusion, though not with equal certainty. But, on the other hand, if this be Rufus the King, how and when did he return to his original resting-place? And there is the evidence of one witness which cannot be omitted at this point, that, namely, of Henry Howard, Esq., of Corby Castle, who, on July 7, 1797, assisted by Mr. Hastings, a surgeon, and accompanied by several gentlemen, examined all the mortuary chests. Every one of them contained human remains, not one was empty; and, although in the cases of some, and particularly of the two we are now interested in, the bones did not exactly tally with the inscriptions, as there were no skulls in either, yet he found exactly the right number of skulls altogether when the contents of all six chests were examined, there being in all twelve skulls, so as to complete the lists written upon the outside. Now, we know all these chests to have been disturbed in the Rebellion, and, therefore, such evidence in 1797 is highly important, because the body of Rufus, if replaced after 1666 in his original tomb, must have been absent from the chest.

The truth is that the finding of any remains at all in this tomb is the real difficulty. Every one, whilst it was supposed to be empty, was content to

^a The indications of a date are so faint and so few that I only venture to subjoin them in the form of a note. There is an entire absence of any cross or ornament on the Purbeck. The want of any inscription or cipher, or any such clue to identification, is mentioned by John of Exeter as a mark of tombs earlier than the Conquest. The general character of the coped or covered top is suggestive in shape of tombs of the Roman period, and the slender bands of flat filleting in low relief are rather Saxon than Norman in type. An engraving of a coped Roman tomb will be found in the later edition of Parker's *Glossary*, under "Tombs." A good example of a similarly shaped memorial is in the British Museum; a Roman tomb discovered in digging a place for the foundation of a church in the Minories: this is ornamented with sculpture in low relief, with a slender flat fillet (like that on the reputed tomb of Rufus), bounding the outlines of its sides and coped top.

regard it as once having been the resting-place of Rufus. But the presence of another there opens a new field. There is, I would submit, reason to conjecture that its present occupant filled it from the first, though rudely disturbed at the Rebellion. If it be so, he was probably an older inhabitant than Rufus, and may have had a place in the cathedral that preceded Walkelyn's. The evidences of an internal kind are too slight to raise argument upon them; I am permitted, however, to refer for comparison to a portion of gold edging exhibited to-night through the courtesy of Mr. Franks, by J. Henderson, Esq., F.S.A.,^a which is singularly like that contained in this tomb, and the age of which carries us to the Saxon period. I may also venture to throw out a hint that the curious ivory ornament, whatever be the date of its workmanship, has assuredly lain for centuries in contact with bronze—it has become saturated with its colour. Such discolouration of ivory and bone we meet with occasionally in the case of Roman ornaments, as the hafts and chapes of swords and sheaths, and it requires ages to saturate such material; the use of a bronze implement, indeed, for any purpose would be an indication of extreme antiquity. I have not dwelt upon the ring, because, whilst Milner after Gale alleges such a ring^b to have been taken out of this tomb by the rebels, it is open to uncertainty whether this be actually the one, and if it be, it assuredly was in company with the chalice, and so makes against Rufus, and in favour of a more saintly occupant.

It remains now only to say what I consider to be justly due, namely, that whilst my own prejudices as an archæologist and an ecclesiastic would have disposed me to resist, in any examination to which it might have been subjected, any change of position for this venerable tomb, yet the most careful and scrupulous reverence for the dead was shown by the authorities at the Cathedral. It must be remembered, too, that they have ample precedent in this our most ancient and time-honoured Church for such translations of the departed. From the days when St. Ethelwold inaugurated the custom by transferring the remains of Pirinus the Bishop from the north side of the high altar of Winchester to a shrine of silver and gold behind that sacred spot, almost every human body that

^a See Proc. Soc. Ant. 2 S. iv. 242.

^b The ring known as that found in this tomb is not of gold, but of bronze gilt. It is apparently intended for the thumb, very coarsely executed, and has a plain square imitation jewel, which is a very poor copy of a sapphire. A representation of this and other rings from tombs in Winchester Cathedral will be found in a plate at the end of the first volume of Woodward and Wilks' *History of Hampshire*; London, 1858—69.

reposed at the eastern end as conspicuous for sanctity or rank has been moved to some place different to that where it at first rested. Not to mention the extensive removal of bodies effected by Fox, Henry de Blois, one of the most memorable of all the great men who occupied this ancient see, set the chief example to the present vice-dean in his recent act, and was apparently placed in circumstances not entirely dissimilar. He "translated," the bodies of the Kings of the West-Saxons, and of their saints; and, says John of Exeter, "on account of the ignorance as to which were kings and which were bishops, and because no titles or inscriptions were upon their monuments, the aforesaid Henry laid in leaden coffins kings with bishops and bishops with kings, mixed together." In one particular the present vice-dean has done better than his great exemplar Henry, he has reverently returned to their own coffin the remains he found, and has replaced them there in more decent and honourable sort than that in which he discovered them.

XIV.—*The Scallop Shell, considered as a Symbol of Initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries.* By H. C. COOTE, Esq. F.S.A.

Read April 29, 1869.

THE scallop shell has been found so curiously in connection with funereal memorials of antiquity as to suggest that something must have been meant by this strange juxta-position.

M. Alexis Ouwaroff, in his *Recherches sur les Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale et des Côtes de la Mer Noire*, figures and describes a golden scallop shell which was found inside a Greek tomb in the Crimea.^a

M. l'Abbé Cochet, in his *Nouvelles Particularités relatives à la Sépulture Chrétienne du Moyen Age*, relates that inside a Gallo-Roman coffin discovered at Angers were found several natural scallop shells over and under the skeleton therein deposited.

Mr. Roach Smith, in his *Collectanea Antiqua*, iii. 48, pl. 14, has described and figured a Roman leaden coffin found in London, upon the lid and sides of which are represented in relief a quantity of scallop shells.

Mr. Thomas Wright^b mentions that similarly ornamented leaden coffins of the Roman period have been discovered at York and Colchester.

More recently three leaden coffins, also Roman, have been disinterred at Eastham in Essex, each containing a skeleton.

These coffins, as I myself witnessed, were abundantly ornamented upon their exterior with the scallop shell in high relief.

They are fully described in the *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, ii. 267, and also in the *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, iii. part 3.

I should not omit to state that the Abbé Cochet, in a letter which I had the pleasure of receiving from him some few years since, informed me that he was under the impression that Roman leaden coffins having this ornamentation of the scallop shell, “des peignes en saillie,” had been found in France.

^a Quoted by M. Cochet in the pamphlet mentioned in the text, p. 17.

^b *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, 2nd edit. pp. 113, 114.

The scallop shell being thus met with in its natural state as well as in effigy amongst the memorials of the pagan dead, it may be a fair inference that ornament was not its object or meaning even in those instances where it has that appearance, viz. upon the exterior of the coffins.

If it be not an ornament, I think that it may be a symbol, one which from the position in which we find it has especial reference to the departed and their condition. I am not, however, aware that any explanation of its object and intention, if it be a symbol, has been attempted, with one unimportant exception.

In the *Intermédiaire des Chercheurs et Curieux*, 2^{me} année, p. 329, I ventured to express an opinion that it represented the *cæna feralis*, the sacrifice offered to the *manes*, because that *cæna*, if we may trust Juvenal (5 sat. v. 84,) consisted of shell-fish. I thought that the humble artist who constructed these sarcophagi had from the abundance of the materials of the sacrifice selected this shell to serve as a symbol of the *cæna* on account of its superior grace and beauty.

Still, as before, believing the scallop shell to be a symbol and not an ornament, I venture to suggest another explanation. The foundation of this view, such as it is, rests upon the following facts :—

Of all the ancient forms of religious practice the mysteries celebrated at Eleusis in honour of Demeter attracted the most enduring reverence.^a This reverence was due to the belief that an initiation therein was a purification of soul and body such as would assure to the initiated a passport into a happier world of futurity.^b In whatever way this belief (a *resumé* of the occult Eleusinian doctrine) was inculcated in the mysteries themselves, it is abundantly clear that the exterior world was blinded as regarded what passed therein with types and symbols only, freely because safely exhibited to the profane.^c

The most prominent of all these types and symbols took its rise out of the following adventure of the goddess who founded the mysteries^d :—Demeter, in the course of her travels in search of her lost daughter Persephone, arrived at Eleusis, where she was received under the roof of a woman named Baubo. This woman, being offended at the goddess's refusal to accept a cup of drink which she had offered her, first upbraided and taunted her guest, and then,

^a Millingen's Baubo in the *Annali dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, vol. xiv. p. 72, et seqq. Roma.

^b Ibid. p. 78. M. Ouwaroff in his *Essai sur les Mystères d' Eleusis* (p. 6): "En découvrant un point de médiation entre l'homme et la Divinité les Eleusiniens avaient seules atteint le but de toutes les grandes associations religieuses."

^c Millingen's Baubo, p. 79.

^d Ibid. p. 80, et seqq.

further to show her scorn or her ill-humour, descended so far as to make a liberal exposure of her person in the goddess's presence. This act had an effect which might scarcely have been anticipated: it restored to the goddess her lost equanimity. And for this reason the act became prominently associated with the mysteries on their subsequent institution. Whatever may be thought of this tale as an origin or a *raison d'être*, it is absolutely certain that the object displayed by Baubo was venerated in the mysteries, was exhibited to the public, and was worn and carried about as a symbol of the profoundest significance.^a

As the initiation in which this symbol took so prominent a part assured to the initiate a happy termination of his worldly existence, it would be at least appropriate that a reference should be made to it in the memorials of the dead who had been thus privileged.

Such a reference we do find in the celebrated inscription in prose and senarian verse of Vettius Agorius and his wife, now preserved in the museum of the Capitol.^b In this case the wife had, amongst other prerogatives, been initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries (*sacrata Cereri et Eleusiniis*), her husband being hierophant on the occasion. She is accordingly made to say in the poetical part of the inscription—

Tu me, marite, disciplinarum bono
Puram ac pudicam sorte mortis eximens,
In templa ducis ac famulam divis dicas.

Such expressions as these can mean nothing else than that assurance of eternal happiness, through the purifying process of the initiation, which I before suggested would be a fitting record to place upon the tomb wherein was deposited

^a Millingen's Baubo, p. 87. The symbol is purely Greek, though the doctrines taught at Eleusis were most probably Egyptian. That distinguished antiquary, the Vicomte Emmanuel de Rougé (Conseiller d'Etat, et Conservateur honoraire des Monuments Egyptiens au Musée du Louvre), has observed in a letter to the writer: "Le pudendum m. est très rare dans les symboles Egyptiens. Et autant on trouve d'échantillons du phallus (qui figure souvent dans l'écriture hiéroglyphique), autant il est difficile de rencontrer la contre partie. Et encore le peu d'échantillons que je connais ne paraissent pas être plus anciens que l'époque Grecque. Par opposition à Ammon ithyphallique et à l' Horus de la même forme les déesses sont toujours absolument voilées en cette partie, et les voiles transparens qui dessinent leurs formes ne laissent rien apparaître au pubis." See also the *Notice Sommaire des Monuments Egyptiens exposés dans les Galeries au Musée du Louvre*, by the same high functionary. This work is a treasure of learning, enhanced by the graces of its style and the excellence of its method.

^b Gruter, 1102, 2. Orelli, No. 2354. The same Agorius who discourses so pleasantly and philosophically in the *Saturnalia* (i. 17, *et seqq.*), and whom his friends affirm to be "unum arcanæ deorum naturæ conscium" (i. 24).

the mortal part of an initiate of these great mysteries, because such a person had a right to proclaim the assurance which he or she had therein received.

A symbol, however, would at times be more conveniently employed than an inscription.

But, though the object before mentioned might be paraded before the public on festal occasions, even pious candour would hesitate to place it upon the memorials of the dead. Accordingly, a substitute for this symbol was sought for, and was found in this manner.

To the object displayed by Baubo, the Greeks gave, in addition to any more common appellation which it may have had, the fanciful name of *κτεῖς*, though the usual acceptations of that word were—a comb, an instrument used in weaving, and a scallop shell,^a—all the same meanings applying to the Latin *pecten*.

Now, the required substitute was contrived simply by employing one of the other meanings of the word *κτεῖς*.

This may seem a strange assertion, but it is undoubtedly true and provable as regards one of the meanings of this word, viz., the weaving instrument.

Millin in his *Peintures de Vases Grecs* has published several painted Greek funereal vases found in Apulia.^b They have especial reference to the Eleusinian mysteries. They represent the happiness of the initiates in their state after death, and exhibit the various objects associated with the mysteries, prominent amongst them being the *κτεῖς* as the weaving implement.

To the distinguished archæologist James Millingen is due the identification of the *κτεῖς* as the weaving implement with the object displayed by Baubo.

He arrived at this conclusion from a small statue which he afterwards published, with a memoir of the highest interest, in the *Annali del Instituto di Corrispondenza di Roma*, xv. p. 72, pl. E.

This statuette represents Baubo in the attitude ascribed to her, holding in her left hand the weaving instrument figured on the Apulian vases.

She is also seated upon a boar, the victim used in purifications and expiatory sacrifices, and which, as an animal especially consecrated to Demeter, is figured upon the coins of Eleusis.^c

In Millin's vases, as I have said, we have the *κτεῖς* *quâ* weaving instrument employed to express, by way of substitution, the other *κτεῖς* so strangely revered in the mysteries. But if an object representing one of the ordinary meanings

^a Millingen's Baubo, p. 87.

^b Vol. ii. p. 29. They are described by Millingen (Baubo, p. 88 *et seqq.*).

^c Millingen's Baubo, p. 85.

of κτεῖς could be employed, as we thus see, in an Eleusinian sense quite different from its common and obvious signification, there would be nothing to prevent the use as an equivalent symbol of an object answering to another meaning of the same word, for example the scallop.

I therefore incline to think that the golden scallop found in the Crimean tomb, the natural shells found in the Gallo-Roman coffins, and the figures of the shell in relief upon the coffins disinterred in our own country and in France, are one and all the Eleusinian symbol, evincing, as on the Apulian vases, that the deceased persons to whom they refer were adepts of Eleusis. And it is no objection to this interpretation that one of the coffins found at Eastham is that of a child in years, for any child might be initiated in the smaller mysteries of Eleusis, while an only child had in its infancy the higher prerogative of being admitted to the privileges of the greater.^a

^a Millingen's Baubo, p. 86.

XV.—*Observations on the Roman Pilum.* By WILLIAM MICHAEL WYLIE, Esq.,
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Read May 13, 1869.

Pila volunt, brevibusque habiles mucronibus enses.—*Silius Italicus.*

THE Roman Pilum is a *quæstio vexata*, which has been, for ages, an embarrassment to all thinking men given to the study of classical literature.

Polybius first gave us an account of this wonderful weapon, which, in conjunction with the *gladius* and the military discipline of Rome, won for her the mastery of the world. It is a subject full of interest—it may be said of never-failing interest—for it had been abundantly discussed by the learned before the days of the celebrated Scaliger, and, according to M. Quicherat and his friends, “*adhuc sub judice lis est.*”

Scaliger, as tradition runs,^a deemed all that had been written on the pilum so unreal and so unsatisfactory, that he resolved on publishing his own views on the matter, and was engaged on this last labour at the time of his decease at Leyden, in 1609. Since that period much more has been written, equally unsatisfactory, and equally untenable.

In fact, till lately a real corporeal Roman pilum had been the great desideratum of the learned. Men had often enough dreamed of such a thing; but, as with dreams in general, “*vanæ fingentur species.*” No one had seen a pilum, or, if haply seen, it had not been recognised. Minds were constantly running on the *one* catapultic marvel of Polybius, forgetful that he mentions also a second and lighter pilum; that time and occasion invariably bring change; and that Camillus, Marius, Cæsar, Vegetius, and, it may be, others, had their respective pila, all somewhat differing, and all equally well authenticated.

It has been reserved for our days to furnish a rational explanation of the weapon. For this we are, in truth, indebted conjointly to the judgment and

^a Pitisci *Lexicon Antig. Rom.* Leovardiae, under the head *Pilum*.

^b *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, 4to. Mayence.

^c Lecture on the Pilum, in the *Verhandlungen der xxi. Philologen-Versammlung*. Heidelberg, 1863.

experience of Dr. Lindenschmit;^a to the critical acumen of Dr. Köchly;^b and the unwearied investigations of our august *confrère* the Emperor of the French, at Alise-Sainte-Reine,^c which have been attended with such signal success. We have thereby obtained a complete identification of the weapon, such at least as it existed from the days of Cæsar down to a late period of the Empire. If any one, however, should fancy that unanimity had been at last obtained, the recent letter of M. Quicherat, in the *Revue Archéologique*,^b may suffice to undeceive him. Still there remains to us that ancient difficulty bequeathed by Polybius.

Before we venture on our Polybian text, it may be well to consider what historical traditions exist of the use of the pilum, or similar weapons, among other Italic peoples. Although little may be gleaned, still that little will assist us in our conclusions, and no attempt in this direction seems to have been made before.

It is probable enough that a weapon, possessing some of the peculiarities of the pilum, may have long existed among the Sabines, and other tribes, close neighbours of the Romans, who, in this manner, may have been led to adopt it. To such a weapon Virgil alludes when he speaks of the "*Volscos verutos*."^e

Again, we find another similar reference in the *Æneid*,

. pugnant mucrone, veruque Sabello,^d

which has no little resemblance to the line of Silius Italicus before quoted.^e Now we have the statement of Festus that the *pilum* and *verutum* were but synonymous terms.^f

Virgil also places another weapon of this kind in the hands of the Rutilian Turnus :—

Sed magnum stridens contorta *falarica* venit,
Fulminis acta modo.^g

Livy, in his especial mention of the Saguntine weapon, to which he gives the name of *falarica*, explains that, like the pilum, it had a long iron head. We also learn from him that the pilum head was quadrilateral, "*sicut in pilo quadratum*."^h

^a Les Armes d'Alise, par M. Verchère de Reffye, in the *Revue Archéologique*, x. 337.

^b Examen des Armes trouvées à Alise-Sainte-Reine, par M. Quicherat, in the *Revue Arch.* xi. 81. Also, the able reply of Dr. Lindenschmit in the same volume, p. 387.

^c Georg. lib. ii. 168.

^d *Æn.* vii. 665.

^e Lib. viii. 373. "*Pila volunt, brevibusque habiles mucronibus enses*."

^f Festus (De Verb. Sign.) *Veruta pila dicuntur, quod habent præfixa*." Also Livy, lib. i. c. 43. "*Arma mutata, nihil præter hastam, et verutum datur*."

^g *Æn.* ix. 705.

^h Liv. lib. xxi. 18. "*Falarica erat Saguntinis, missile telum hastili oblongo, et cetera tereti præterquam ad extremum, unde ferrum exstabat: id, sicut in pilo, quadratum, stuppa circumligabant linebantque pice*."

In the dark corner of a glass case in the Bronze room of the Etruscan Museum at the Vatican Gallery lie *perdus* two very remarkable javelin-heads of *iron*, found in a tomb in the ancient Etruscan city of Vulci. These are very indifferently figured in the “Museum Etruscum Gregorianum” (vol. i. tav. xxi. fig. 6), and the incompetent writer of the letter-press of that magnificent work simply classes them as “*tancie e giavelotti* ;” never even stating the fact of their being of iron. One of these is a round rod of some four feet in length, terminating at the one end in an ample socket, and tapering upwards to a slender quadrilateral cusp about half an inch in diameter, which forms five inches and a half of the total length. The other weapon is apparently broken, and the socket wanting. It resembles its companion, but is of far more substantial dimensions. The head is shorter, and an inch in diameter. These weapons are of undoubted authenticity, of which I have certain assurance from Barone Visconti, and the Commendatore Grifi, under whose official direction the museum was formed, and its invaluable contents preserved. They were found in the year 1836. It is not possible even to surmise to what part of the Etruscan period they may belong, for no records were kept of concomitant details, after the usual ruthless manner in which such tombs are rifled by speculators for the mere purpose of gain—not of science. Had these been barbed, they would have been good examples, in most respects, of the heavy and light pilum of Polybius. Whether or not we are to regard them as examples of the Virgilian *verutum*, or *falarica*, it is not unlikely that they were prototypes of the Roman pilum—in fact ἐπιχώρια δόρατα.

The very earliest mention of the pilum as a weapon of actual Roman warfare, that I can find, seems singularly well authenticated. It appears in a fragment of Ennius—“*Horatia pila*,”^a—on the occasion of the victory of the Horatian brothers over the Curiatii, A. U. C. 85. This fragment has been, long subsequently, confirmed by Propertius in his lines on Ennius:—

Et cecinit Curios fratres, et *Horatia pila*.^b

Ennius probably wrote about A.U.C. 560, and any supposed obscurity in this

Ferrum autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiam si hæsisset in scuto, nec penetrasset in corpus, pavorem faciebat, quod cum medium accensum mitteretur, conceptumque ipso motu multo majorem ignem ferret, arma omitti cogebat, nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus præbebat.”

The passage is a valuable illustration also of the usual tactic of depriving the enemy of his shield.

^a Enn. *Annal*, ii. 25.

^b Propert. lib. iii. 3.

fragment is removed by Livy, who explains at full that the "Horatia pila" were the martial trophies set up by the survivor of the Horatii, on his return from victory; and further, that these trophies had given their name to the spot where they had been originally so set up.^a In fact it is certain that the spot retained its name for centuries after.^b Dionysius of Halicarnassus, writing in the Augustan age, tells us the spot was marked in his time by a quadrilateral stone column—"τὴν δ' ἐπὶ κλησιν ἢ στυλὶς φυλάττει τὴν αὐτὴν, Ὁρατία καλουμένη πύλα"—against which column the ancient arms, then consumed by time, had once been placed.^c

Next, in point of time, occurs the mention of the pilum, as an accustomed weapon in the Sabine wars, by Dionysius of Halicarnassus; in the war with the Boian Gauls, by Appian; and in the war with the Gauls again at Rome, by Plutarch. But these writers lived in times long subsequent to the events they have recorded; and, of all the classical writers, Polybius I believe was the first to give us, as an actual eye-witness, a detailed account of the pilum, or ὕσσος, as the Greek authors term it, used in the Carthaginian war. The other authors lead us to doubt whether they were not rather describing the weapon they themselves were acquainted with, rather than that in use at the early period of which they were writing. Thus, when Dionysius employs the *present* tense in his account of the pilum used in the Sabine war several centuries before—ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα βέλη Ῥωμαίων—he is probably merely describing the weapon of his own day.^d

Polybius wrote about A.U.C. 600. A soldier himself, and companion of Scipio Africanus, he was consequently well acquainted with the weapon he undertook to describe.^e He tells us there were two kinds of pilum in use at this period in

^a Liv. lib. i. c. 26. "Spolia Curiatorum fixa eo loco qui nunc *Pila Horatia* appellatur, ostentans."

^b P. Victor, *De Regionibus Urbis Romæ*, places the *Horatia pila* in the viiith *Regio*.

^c Lib. iii. 22.

^d Lib. v. c. 46. "Ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα βέλη Ῥωμαίων, ἃ συνιόντες εἰς χεῖρας ἐξακουτίζουσι, ξύλα προμήχη τε καὶ χειροπληθῆ, τριῶν οὐχ ἡπτον ποδῶν, σιδηροῦς ὀβελίσκους ἔχοντα προῦχοντας κατ' εὐθείαν ἐκ θατέρου τῶν ἄκρων, μετρίους ἀκοντίους ἴσα σὺν τῷ σιδήρῳ."

^e Polybius, vi. 23. "Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὕσσοι δύο, καὶ περικεφαλαία χαλκῇ, καὶ προκνημῖς. τῶν δ' ὕσσων εἰσὶν οἱ μὲν πάχεις, οἱ δὲ λεπτοί. τῶν δὲ στερεωτέρων οἱ μὲν στρογγύλοι παλαιστιαίαν ἔχουσι τὴν διαμέτρον· οἱ δὲ τετράγωνοι, τὴν πλευράν. οἱ γὰρ μὴν λεπτοὶ σιβυνίοις εἰσὶν ὅμοιοι συμμέτροις, οὓς φοροῦσι μετὰ τῶν προειρημένων. ἀπάντων δὲ τούτων τοῦ ξύλου τὸ μήκος ἐστὶν ὡς τρεῖς πῆχεις. προσήρμοσται δ' ἐκάστοις βέλος σιδηροῦν ἀγκιστρῶτον, ἴσον ἔχον τὸ μήκος τοῖς ξύλοις· οὗ τὴν ἑνδεσιν κατὰ τὴν χρεῖαν οὕτως ἀσφαλίζονται βεβαίως, ἕως μέσου τῶν ξύλων ἐνδέοντες, καὶ πυκναῖς ταῖς λαβίσιν καταπερουῶντες, ὥστε μὴ πρότερον τὸν δεσμὸν ἐν ταῖς χρεαῖς ἀνακαλασθῆναι ἢ τὸν σίδηρον θραύεσθαι, καίπερ ὄντα τὸ πάχος ἐν τῷ πυθμένι καὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸ ξύλον συναφῇ τριῶν ἡμιδακτυλίων. ἐπὶ τοσούτον καὶ τοσαύτην πρόνοιαν ποιοῦνται τῆς ἐνδέσεως."

the Roman army—a very heavy, and a light one—the former of these we will now consider.

The heavy pilum then consisted of two parts. It had an iron head three cubits, or four feet and a half, in length, which terminated in a barbed quadrangular point, and a wooden shaft of the same length, round or quadrilateral. In either case this shaft had a diameter of a palm, or three inches. The greatest importance was attached at this period to a firm junction of the wooden shaft and iron spear. To effect this it is possible that the end of the iron stem was hammered down to a flat bar form, and inserted into a groove in the shaft. There has always been some difficulty about this junction, and Polybius does not make express mention of the bar form. But he does say that the iron was inserted in the shaft for half its length, or two feet and a quarter, making the pilum six feet and three quarters long. Great care was then taken to secure wood and iron together by numerous rivets or other fastenings, so that a fracture was more likely to occur in the iron stem itself, though a dactyl and a half (= one inch and an eighth) in thickness, at the point where it meets the wood—τῇ πρὸς τὸ ξύλον συναφῇ—than in the actual junction. As I have said, there is some difficulty about this fastening, and other modes may be suggested; but those who contend for the usual socket form will find it troublesome to explain in accordance with our text. The bar form, as suggested above, is at least supported by examples found at Alise-Sainte-Reine.^a These were secured by rivets with large flat round heads, which both give the dimensions of the shaft in such examples, and show it to have been quadrilateral.

These ponderous dimensions of the pilum have always been the point so hard to comprehend, and, in consequence, every possible attempt has been unsuccessfully made to explain away the passage. The testimony of so many historians of so many periods does not admit of the slightest doubt as to the intended employment of the pilum. It certainly seems a weighty missile—οὐκ εὐκότα ἀκοντίοις, as Appian well says—but, though it may occasionally have been used as a spear, that is, as a thrusting weapon,^b or for withstanding a cavalry charge, or any other such special purpose on an emergency, its primary and peculiar use was for hurling as a javelin.^c Yet, it may well be asked, how could men even of a strength

^a *Revue Archéologique*, loc. cit.

^b Livy, lib. ix. c. 19. "Pilum haud paulo quam hasta vehementius ictu missuque telum." Cf. Plutarch in *Camill.*, 40, 41.

^c Ennii *Ann.* viii, 46. "Hastati spargunt hastas; fit ferreus imber."

and stature never attributed to the Romans, have used such a javelin effectively? A round shaft with a diameter of three inches is strangely ponderous, but in the squared form it becomes still more difficult to understand.

It must be observed that modern writers differ considerably in their estimates of the probable weight of such a weapon. Some have placed it as low as ten pounds weight. Professor Köchly carries it up to fifteen at least, while M. de Reffye, who conducted the experiments on the pilum, under the direction of the Emperor of the French, supposes it to have been ten kilogrammes, or about twenty-two pounds.^a We know not on what basis these respective calculations rest.

I am aware there is a difference of opinion as to the rendering of the words *πρὸς τὸ ξύλον*, in the text of Polybius. Without entering on this, I will assume him to mean the thickest part of the iron stem—that is, its base *against*, or where it leaves, the wooden shaft. Although then, at this point, it was no less than an inch and an eighth in diameter, yet it would rapidly taper away down to its small barbed head; and I question the weight of such a tapering iron to have been very great. We have then remaining the weight of the mere strig of two feet and a quarter inserted in the wood, and the four feet and a half of the shaft itself. This latter would of course much depend on the kind of wood used. The difficulty would be still further diminished if we could venture on the supposition that the shaft itself also tapered down somewhat to the iron stem at the one end, and to its probable iron, or bronze, shoe—*σαυρωτήρ*—at the other, as the manner of certain lances is, leaving the full Polybian diameter of three inches solely at the balance point, where the hand would grasp and poise the weapon. Fortunately such monumental evidence as we possess bears us out in some degree in this supposition. Two grave-stones of Roman soldiers interred at Bonn on the Rhine still exist in the museum there; and there is another similar monument in the museum of Wiesbaden. These are rudely sculptured effigies,^b but they afford valuable illustrations of the military equipments of Roman infantry. On all of these monuments the pilum-head is represented as issuing from the obtuse end of the stout shaft, which in two instances tapers downwards to the place of the *σαυρωτήρ*. On the third monument the shaft is incomplete. The *σαυρωτήρ* is strongly represented on the Wiesbaden monument, and it must necessarily have always existed for the purpose of fixing the weapon in the ground on a halt.

^a *Les Armes d'Alise.*

^b Lindenschmidt, *Alterthümer*, vol. i. heft. viii. taf. vi.

Polybius himself too names it as the termination of the cavalry lance,^a and remarks on its value as a weapon when the lance-head had broken. Examples of its use will be found among the Roman reliques in the Kircherian and other museums of Italy; and others exist in the collection of Padre Garrucci, which he found at Præneste with Roman spears of the time of the Republic.

We must now turn to the lighter pilum of Polybius,^b to which writers, engrossed by the first ænigma, have paid too little attention. It is certainly the more important of the two; for, in all probability, it is the conquering weapon, which, with certain modifications, the Roman legions continued to use down to a late period of the Empire, long after the heavy pilum had become obsolete. It is described as being constructed like the other, only in much lighter fashion. Polybius further tells us, in illustration, that it resembled the *σιβύνιον*, or hunting-spear, sufficient account of which exists in the writings of Hesychius to show that the *σιβύνη*, or *σιβύνιον*, was entirely an iron weapon, and therefore almost necessarily slender, like the pilum-head.^c With this lighter and more tangible weapon, then, we shall solely have to deal.

It only remains to consider the difficulties attendant on the accounts of the heavy pilum, as handed down to us, and to see if any reasonable mode of relieving these difficulties may haply be suggested.

Professor Köchly indeed considers such an arm far too cumbrous and unwieldy ever to have been used in action. He therefore assumes it to have been solely employed as a *pilum murale* for the defence of fortified walls, or entrenchments. The main objection to this view is, that there is nothing whatever in the words of Polybius to sustain it; and that we do not hear of the *pilum murale* at all till the time of Cæsar.^d It remains, moreover, to be seen whether the *pilum murale* did not correspond to the *pilum catapultarium* of Plautus.^e

M. de Reffye, who claims much greater weight for the weapon, by no means seems to come to the conclusion that the weight would preclude its use. He tells us, as the result of the Emperor's experiments, it was found that a practised man

^a Lib. vi. c. 25. "Ομοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ μεταλήψεως τοῦ σαυρωτῆρος χρεῖαν, μονίμον καὶ βίαιον."

^b Loc. cit.

^c Hesych. i. "Σιβύνη, ὀλοσίδηρον ἀκόντιον ἢ λόγχη." Idem. ii. "Σιβύνη, ὄπλον δόρατι παραπλήσιον." Arrian. "Οἷς δὲ κοντοῖς, μακρά καὶ ἐπιλεπτά τὰ σιδήρια προῆπται."

^d De Bell. Gall. v. 40; vii. 82.

^e Curcul. v. 3, 689. "Ego ex te hodie faciam *pilum catapultarium*."

could hurl the lighter pilum, such as it existed in Cæsar's time, a distance of thirty metres, or about thirty-two yards; and that the weapon in its fall would pierce a plank of three centimetres, or about an inch and a fifth in thickness. The heavy one could only be hurled at close quarters. He contends against its use, but only on the grounds that a distance of thirty paces was absolutely required for the discharge of javelins between contending armies and the preparation for charging with the sword. He therefore assumes the discharge of pila to have been made at this distance of thirty paces.

It must be borne in mind, however, that in the memorable operations of Camillus the Roman soldiers received the attack of the Gaulish swordsmen on their pila, and then transfixed their shields *at close quarters* before they themselves drew their swords.^a Again, we have positive accounts of the great power of the pilum to pierce through both shield and breast-plate at one blow, which could only have been done at close quarters.^b No human arm could have propelled such a missile as even the lighter pilum with such terrible effect at a distance of thirty paces.

Polybius tells us that two pila were part of the Roman soldier's regular equipment, together with his brass helmet and greaves. He proceeds to describe the heavy pilum, and, with respect to the lighter one, he says, "οἳ γέ μὴν λεπτοὶ . . . οὓς φοροῦσι μετὰ τῶν προειρημένων,"—that is, "the light pila which they carry with the before-mentioned" heavy ones.

Now, it is a reasonable inference from all this, that, as there were two kinds of pila used in action, the Roman soldier carried one of each. The lighter one would be hurled at the distance best suited to the soldier's personal strength; the heavy one at close quarters, the more effectually to smash the heavy defensive armour of the foe—such as that of the Macedonian phalanx for instance—before engaging him with the sword. Such a reading seems probable enough, and has at least the merit of neither falsifying our author, nor tampering with his text. The dimensions he has assigned to the weapon doubtless cause great difficulty; but the mention Florus makes of the *ingens pilum* in the Macedonian war plainly shows that some such heavy javelin was still in use at this subsequent period.

^a Plutarch in *Camill.* c. 40, 41.

^b Suidas quotes: "ἐξακοντίσας ὕσσον, διήλασεν αὐτοῦ τὸν τε θυρεὸν καὶ τὸν θώρακα." Arrian, "ἵππους τρώσοντες καὶ ἱππότην κατακανοῦντες, καὶ θυρεῷ καὶ καταφράκτῳ θώρακι ἐμπαγέντος τοῦ κόντου." *Vegetius*, de Re Mil. lib. i. c. 20.

It must be observed that Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his mention of the pila, terms them χειροπληθῆ, or as much as the hand could grasp, without further enlarging on the subject. Now Polybius may only have intended to express this same idea of a very ponderous, palm-filling shaft, without meaning to bind us down to an actual palm diameter—παλαιστιάαν. In any case there is no difficulty in comprehending that, without imputing any superior strength to the men of that period, continuous practice^a from early youth in the use of any weapon would induce a proficiency far beyond anything we can now conceive. We know for instance that this was the case with the use of the sling of old; and, to come nearer home, we know that men of not so many generations past used bows in England, and shot distances far exceeding our modern efforts, simply by reason of early and continuous use.

Unless some such explanation be deemed satisfactory and admissible I fear we have no remedy but to suppose that the term παλαιστιάαν must have had another meaning in the time of Polybius; or to admit, reluctantly, with M. de Reffye, that this word has been “sans doute falsifié par les copistes.”

Before quitting this period of the earlier use of the weapon, it may be well to notice the singular fact of the rarity, or rather almost non-existence, of examples of pila of any epoch of Roman domination in the Italian peninsula. It might reasonably have been expected that some such would have been met with at Pompeii, preserved intact, for our information, together with so many other reminiscences of Roman life. Nothing of the sort, however, would seem to have been found there; or at least nothing has been preserved in the Naples museum. In fact I know only of two possible examples of the pilum in all the museums of Italy that I have been able to inspect. These, as the Padre Garrucci informs me, were met with at Capena, on the banks of the Tiber, in the country of the Sabine Falisci. One was presented to the museum of the Capitol at Rome by Signor Augusto Castellani; the other is in the possession of the Benedictines of S. Callisto and S. Paolo-fuor-le-Mura at Rome, on whose property it was found, together with a mass of other most remarkable reliques. These examples are in too fragmentary a condition to justify any positive classification, but they have slender round stems, with the socket end of common lance-heads. It is

^a Ælius Spartianus in *Adriano Imperatore*: “Armisque et pilo se semper exercuit.” Vopiscus in *Aureliano*: “Nullum unquam diem prætermisit, quamvis festum, quamvis vacantem, quo non se pilo et sagittis, ceterisque armorum exerceret officiis.”

clear enough, however, these were either Roman pila, or the Sabine *veruta*, and from the concomitant pottery the latter attribution would seem more probable.^a

Such examples must have daily occurred—must be of almost daily occurrence—but iron antiquities are at a sad discount in Italian museums through a complete ignorance, or disregard, of their value. Hence the peasant-finder casts them aside as worthless, since they bear no market value; and many an historical treasure becomes lost for ever.

We arrive now at the time of Cæsar, when the pilum was in its zenith. Fortunately we are in possession of evidence which enables us to verify it satisfactorily. The museums of Bonn and Wiesbaden, as has been said already, contain the sepulchral monuments of three Roman soldiers, which were found in the vicinity. These warriors are sculptured, with their arms, in full military dress. Each holds in his right hand the national weapon, which appears to answer, as nearly as possible, to the lighter pilum of Polybius, and serves as a type by which to test discovery.

On one of the Bonn monuments is the effigy of Q. Petilius Secundus, of Milan, a soldier of the 15th legion. In this case the pilum is some six feet in length. The other is a similar military monument, only the pilum is somewhat shorter,—a portion of the shaft perhaps having been broken off, for the two iron heads agree in length. As a proper balance is required for this arm, I presume the length of shaft would depend in some measure on the description of wood of which it was made. Oak, for instance, would be far weightier than ash, or fir, or larch; and an oaken shaft would therefore be shorter than one of the other woods.

The Wiesbaden monument—that of a soldier of the 8th legion—will shortly be published by Dr. Lindenschmit in the *Alterthümer*, which already contains those of Bonn.^b In the same plate with these monuments is also given a Roman pilum found either in the *castrum* at Orlen, in Nassau, or one of the several other neighbouring Roman *castra*. This fine example of the weapon is preserved in the museum of Wiesbaden, where there are also several others with stems both round and square, discovered by the late eminent antiquary, Herr

^a It may here be mentioned that, among other objects of this Capena find, preserved in the Convent museum of St. Paolo, is an iron dagger in an iron sheath, to which is attached a strong iron chain for suspension to the side. The dagger-hilt is broken, but the sheath measures 16 inches by 2 inches in breadth. It had been wrapt, with an engraved Etruscan mirror and other objects, in a linen cloth, the impression of which is very visible on the oxydised metals.

^b Vol. i. heft viii. taf. 6.

Habel, in his researches in the Roman *castra* of Orlen, Irlich, Hofheim, and Heddernheim (*Castra Adriani*). It has manifestly been used in action. The barbs are compressed close down to the pyramidal point, as though it had been propelled through some hard substance, such as a wooden shield, for instance, and it is much bent.

The accompanying woodcut is taken from a cast^a of another of these Wiesbaden *pila*, prepared in Dr. Lindenschmit's laboratory from the original, which measures 3ft. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. in length. The point, it will be observed, is in this instance of the pyramidal form of the weapons from Vulci before referred to. The stem terminates in a large square socket, which is not common. The outside measure of this socket is 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. square.

In addition to this evidence we can further adduce two more iron *pila*, in perfect preservation, found only a few years since in the bed of the Rhine at Mayence, together with a vast mass of other Roman reliques. These *pila* have been already illustrated in the *Alterthümer*.^b The points are of the usual pyramidal form; the base of one being sharply truncated. The upper part of the stem is quadrilateral, the lower round. A solid quadrilateral iron cap, through which the stem passes, served to cover the top of the shaft, binding wood and iron firmly together after the insertion of the terminal strig. Such mode of junction was certainly used in one of these examples, for a portion of such strig, or tongue, still exists within the cap. These weapons are of far lighter construction than the Wiesbaden *pilum*, and most probably are of a much more recent date. They are in excellent preservation, and Dr. Lindenschmit's researches have shown the head and upper portion of the stem to be of steel, while the lower part is of soft iron—in perfect accordance with Appian's account. The concussion of the blow on the enemy's shield sufficed to bend these slender weapons, and render them for the time completely unserviceable. In the case of the Wiesbaden monument the iron cap is there represented of so large a size as must have added considerably to the weight of the weapon.

Even the most sceptical, it may be presumed, would be satisfied with this amount of evidence. Accordingly, when the successful researches at Alise-Sainte-Reine, prosecuted under the auspices of the Emperor

^a Now deposited in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, together with the cast of the *gladius*, figured at the end of this paper.

^b Id. heft xi. taf. v.



of the French, led to the discovery of a number of Roman arms, many of which precisely resemble those of Mayence and Wiesbaden, they were at once seen to be old Roman pila—"exesa scabra rubigine pila"—belonging to the legions under Cæsar, who fought the Gauls at Alesia.

M. Verchère de Reffye, the Emperor's "Officier d'Ordonnance," has given us a full account of all these arms,^a of which, on the present occasion, the pila alone concern us. He describes them as slender stems, both round and square. Their length is about a metre, and the original weight, judging from their present decayed condition, might have been some 600 grammes, or about 20 ounces English, which would seem lighter than might have been supposed.

The points vary in form. Some of them have barbs—the ἀγκιστρῶτον of Polybius. Others terminate in a cone,^b or a small quadrilateral pyramid—ὀβελίσχους—like the pila found in the Rhine at Mayence. Here again it will be observed that these two latter forms differ from the dietum of Polybius; and some critics might have raised difficulties had not these pila been found in company with the barbed ones. The truncated cone, or pyramid head, would probably answer the purpose as well, since flesh, or other substances, when pierced, would close below the head, and render extraction difficult. Barbs are more liable to injury, becoming compressed on passing through any hard substance.

We further learn that there were three different ways of affixing the iron head to the shaft, viz. :—

1. The iron terminates in a socket, like ordinary spears; and in this the shaft is fixed, and secured by a rivet.

2. The iron terminates in a strig, six inches in length, traversed by a rivet. When these weapons were found the greater part had a ferrule above the rivet. These ferrules are both of a round and square form, with an inside diameter of $1\frac{1}{5}$ inch, which, as M. de Reffye considers, gives the diameter of the shaft. The head would seem to have been attached to the shaft by fixing one or more ferrules on to it, and then boring a place for the strig, which was finally secured by an iron rivet.

^a *Revue Archéologique*, x. 337.

^b These conical points are but the reproduction of a very archaic Oscan form of lance. Compare a bronze group, formerly in the Fejérvary collection, figured in the *Monumenti del Instit. Arch. Rom.* v. 50. The very large conical head of a Roman missile, but too short for a pilum, exists in the Mayence collection.

3. The end of the iron stem is flattened to the width of twenty-eight millimetres, or an inch and a sixth, for the purpose of inserting it in a cleft in the shaft prepared for its reception. This was secured by large, round, flat-headed rivets, which would show the shaft to have been quadrilateral, with a diameter of an inch and a sixth, this being the inside measurement of the rivets.

It has been objected that the uniformity of Roman discipline would not have sanctioned such variations in the chief military weapon. It is, however, impossible, after these many examples from Alesia, to suppose there was any one regulation pattern. Certain ranks, indeed, may have been armed with pila of one certain form, varying from those of other ranks. This is all we can say. It must also be borne in mind that the delicate form of the later pilum would require constant repairs and re-adjustment, which would soon create dissimilarity. Soldiers in an enemy's country must repair damages as best they may.

It is very clear, then, from these many examples of the pilum, that no rigid uniformity in its use was insisted on, either in the form of the head, or the mode of attaching the stem to the shaft. The stem itself occurs of square, round, and six-sided forms. We know of several modes of attaching it to the shaft, and still more may have existed. It seems futile, therefore, in any discussion on the subject, to lay down arbitrary rules on any such minor ever-varying details. The great point for consideration is, whether any imagined examples of the weapon correspond in their main and particular features with the accounts of Polybius and the other writers.

In fact the accounts left us by the very Roman writers themselves are most strangely dissonant, and contradictory. Polybius is decided enough in his narrative, however hard it may be to interpret reasonably, in accordance with our modern views. Cæsar also speaks clearly and repeatedly of that pilum of which, fortunately, we possess such good evidence. Plutarch, writing about the end of the first century, in his mention of the change in the weapon made by Camillus, terms it the ὕσσος, or pilum; which word Polyænus, a later writer, who had no other authority than Plutarch, chooses, in his "Strategemata,"^a to change into ξυστὸς μακρὸς, or common long spear. Then comes Dionysius with his very difficult commentary,^b which would almost lead us to infer he had mixed up the two pila

^a *Polyæni Strategemata*. Berolini, 1756, lib. viii. Camillus. In the note on this passage the editor remarks, "Plutarchus, unde hic noster sua hausit, habet ὕσσοις."

^b Lib. v. c. 46, *vide supra*.

of Polybius together.^a We may well read his term, χειροπληθῆ, as applying to the larger pilum; yet he concludes by comparing the weapons to moderate-sized darts—μετρίοις ἀκοντίοις. Arrian, again, simply speaks of the pila as κοντοί, or darts; while Appian, who describes them closely, tells us they do not resemble darts at all—οὐκ ὅμοια ἀκοντίοις.^b

We now come to the latest historical account of this celebrated weapon, which, as it originated and increased with Roman greatness, so it declined in equal proportion with it. Nor is it the least curious circumstance in the history of the pilum, that when Vegetius wrote in the reign of Valentinian, at the close of the third century, its very name seems to have died out—"quod *pilum* vocabant, *spiculum* dicitur."^c

Vegetius was an officer of high rank in the Roman army—he is styled *comes*—he was also a strict disciplinarian, and is consequently a very trustworthy authority. His words would show that the ancient pilum, half-iron, half-wood, as we have been used to see it, had become obsolete in the Roman army. Vegetius complains that the troops would no longer submit to their old severe discipline, or endure the weight of their arms.^d Hence the pilum had now dwindled down to a weapon termed *spiculum*, with a short tri-lateral and barbed iron head, some nine inches or a foot in length, with a shaft of five feet and a half. Its full length therefore remained much the same. Yet even in this reduced state, Vegetius goes on to say, the pilum, or spiculum, was used by very few of the regular troops, impatient perhaps of the continued practice required.^e It was chiefly employed by the barbarian mercenaries, under the name of *bebra*—and this is an important fact to bear in mind as we shall presently see. Still, however, it remained a formidable weapon; for, *when properly used*, it would penetrate both shield and breastplate, and once fixed in a shield, or other substance, it was difficult to remove. Such fatal effect was however only to be obtained by continued practice.^f There was

^a *Loc. cit.*

^b Lib. iv. *De reb. Gall.* c. 1.

^c Vegetius *De Re Mil.* ii. 23 de exercitatione militum.

^d Id. i. 20. "Sed cum campestris exercitatio, interveniente negligentia desidiosaque, cessaret, gravia videri arma cœperunt, quæ raro utique milites induebant."

^e Vegetius, i. 20. "Instruendos igitur, ac protegendos omni arte pugnandi quocunque genere antiquorum armorum constat esse tirones."

^f Vegetius. loc. cit. "Missilibus autem, quibus utebatur pedestris exercitus, pila vocabantur, ferro subtili trigono præfixa, unciarum novem, sive pedali, quæ in scuto fixa non possent abscindi, et loricam scienter et fortiter directa facile perrumpunt: cujus generis apud nos jam rara sunt tela." Idem, lib. ii. c. xv. "Item bina missilia, unum majus, ferro triangulo unciarum novem, hastili pedum quinque semis, quod *pilum*

also a lesser dart—the *verutum*—with a similar, but smaller, iron point of five inches, and a shaft three feet and a half in length.^a

In this lesser weapon Professor Köchly sees the *γρόσφος*, or *hasta velitaris*, of Polybius. Examples of such missiles are rare, and some years since I fortunately obtained an example at Rheims, in France, which at the time was laid before the Society of Antiquaries, and is now engraved in our *Archæologia*.^b It is tri-lateral, and tri-barbed; which at once explains why it could not be easily extracted from any object it had once pierced. This is the last historical mention we have of the pilum—so far at least as I am at present aware.

Before going further, it may not be amiss to remark that our subject can never be well understood if we attempt to limit it by the account of Polybius. He, indeed, truly depicted the pilum of his own day; but times and sudden exigencies call for changes in all things. Thus the weapon of Polybius, if we take his account literally, does not agree altogether with that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

Then follows a marked change in the weapon by Camillus, about A.U.C. 386, which it seems to have retained ever after. Nor must we overlook Appian's account of the pilum^c on the occasion of the engagement with the Boian Gauls, under the Dictator Sulpicius, A. U. C. 396. He describes it as half iron, half wood, worked in quadrilateral form, and the iron as of *soft-tempered* quality, all but the point. He further remarks that the weapon is very unlike a javelin. This mention of the soft-tempered iron, at so early a date, would be remarkable as showing the discovery, at this early date, of rendering the foe defenceless by the destructive tactic of fixing the pilum in his shield, and bending it down. But Appian wrote about A.D. 140, and he is probably describing, like Dionysius, the pila of his own period, to which the use of soft iron for the pilum stem rather belonged.

We next have the double weapon of Polybius, and it is just possible that the heavier one may have been introduced at the period of the Carthaginian war, the

vocabant, nunc spiculum dicitur; ad cujus jactum exercebantur præcipere milites; quod arte et virtute directum, et scutatos pedites, et loricatos equites sæpe transverberabat."

^a Idem. loc. cit. "Aliud minus, ferro triangulo unciarum quinque, hastili trium pedum semis, quod tunc vericulum, nunc verutum dicitur."

^b *Archæologia*, xxxvi. 81.

^c Appian, lib. iv. *De reb. Gall.* c. 1. "Τὰ δὲ δόρατα ἦν οὐκ εἰκότα ἀκοντίοις, ἀλλ' ἃ Ῥωμαῖοι κάλουσιν ὑσσούς, ξύλου τετραγώνου τὸ ἥμισυ, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σιδήρου, τετραγώνου καὶ τοῦδε, καὶ μαλακοῦ, χωρὶς γε τῆς αἰχμῆς."

more effectually to act on the superior armour and the elephants of the Africans. Polybius himself records an attack of Asdrubal on the Roman encampment in Sicily, when he was repulsed, and his elephants routed and captured, mainly by the use the Romans made of the heavy pilum, so at least I should read the words ἐνεργοῖς τοῖς ὕσσοις.^a Florus, too, in his mention of the dismay of the Macedonian phalanx at the destruction produced "*ingentibus pilis*," seems to render certain testimony to the continued use of the weapon at this later period.^b The term of *ingens* could not apply to the lesser pilum.

We now come to the pilum of Marius, and it is clear enough that a change had occurred yet again before his time. The extreme importance attached by Polybius to the junction of the shaft with the iron stem, by means of numerous rivets and other fastenings, had altogether vanished; and we find *two* rivets deemed sufficient for the purpose. Marius found the weapon in this phase; and he was thereby furnished with an opportunity of executing his well-known stratagem in the engagement with the Cimbri. This seems to have been regarded at the time as a remarkable innovation.^c Some have supposed that it was for the purpose of preventing the enemy from returning the pila hurled at them, that Marius directed one of the two rivets, referred to, to be replaced by a wooden peg. When the pilum pierced the hostile shield the concussion of the blow on striking snapped this wooden peg asunder. The result was, that the iron and the shaft, being simply held together by a single rivet, collapsed like the blade of a clasp-knife. Thus the pilum became useless to the foe, but not to Marius, for the shaft, pendant from the rivet, and sweeping on the ground, not only embarrassed the foe, but furnished the Romans with a handle to pull down his shield. I believe this to have been the real purpose of Marius; and the principle of his

^a Polyb. i. 40. "Προσπεσόντων δὲ τῶν θηρίων, καὶ τιτρωσκομένων μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ τεύχους τοξευόντων, συνακοντιζομένων δ' ἐνεργοῖς καὶ πυχνόις τοῖς ὕσσοις, καὶ τοῖς γρόσφοις"—κ.τ.λ.

^b Flor. Epit. ii. 7. "Cum tamen nihil terribilius Macedonibus fuit ipso vulnere adspectu, quæ non spiculis, nec sagittis, nec ullo Græculo ferro, sed *ingentibus pilis*, nec minoribus adacta gladiis, ultra mortem patebant."

^c Plutarch. Marius, c. 25. "Λέγεται δὲ, εἰς ἐκείνην μάχην πρῶτον ὑπὸ Μαρίου καινοτομηθῆναι ὁ περὶ τοῦς ὕσσους. τὸ γὰρ εἰς τὸν σίδηρον ἔμβλημα τοῦ ξύλου, πρότερον μὲν ἦν δυσὶ περόναις κατειλημένον σιδηραῖς. τότε δὲ ὁ Μάριος τὴν μὲν ὥσπερ εἶχεν εἶασε, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἐξελῶν, ξύλινον ἦλον εὐθραυστον ἀντ' αὐτῆς ἐνέβαλε· τεχνάζων προσπεσόντα τὸν ὕσσον τῷ θυρεῷ τοῦ πολεμίου μὴ μένειν ὀρθὸν ἀλλὰ τοῦ ξύλινου κλασθέντος ἡλον καμπὴν γίνεσθαι περὶ τὸν σίδηρον καὶ παρέλκεσθαι τὸ δόρυ διὰ τὴν στρεβλότητα τῆς αἰχμῆς ἐνεχόμενον."

When Plutarch wrote in the first century of our era the tradition of this stratagem of Marius must have been still fresh.

successful innovation, in the form of the soft-tempered iron stem, became adopted in Roman warfare shortly afterwards. This mode of attack is perfectly detailed by Agathias in his account of the *angon*, to which we shall presently have occasion to refer.

It will hence be seen that the use of the soft-tempered iron was another change subsequent to the times of Marius. Had he known of it, there would have been no occasion to remove one of the rivets for the purpose of bending down the pilum when fixed in the shield. It must be noticed that Plutarch's expression on this occasion would raise some doubts as to there having been yet another alteration at this period in the mode of joining the shaft and iron. His words are τὸ εἰς τὸν σίδηρον ἐμβλημα τοῦ ξύλου, the insertion, or graft, as it were, of the wood into the iron, not of the iron into the wood, as we assumed to have been the case with the Polybian pilum. The use of the common spear socket would at once meet this ἐμβλημα, were it not for the mention of the rivet-action, which renders the use of the socket impossible, and shows, at least, that this mode of attachment was *not* meant. The iron, indeed, must have extended in two longitudinal strips running up either side of the shaft, as is seen occasionally with lances and halberds; and some essayists have asserted this to have been the case. I leave it to others to determine whether the words of Dionysius, προῦχοντας κατ' εὐθείαν ἐκ θατέρου τῶν ἄκρων, support this interpretation, or not. So far as the stratagem of Marius is concerned, it would be perfectly immaterial whether the fork was formed by the wooden shaft, or by the iron stem. So long as either played on a single rivet the result would be the same. All we can say is that we have not yet found any pilum heads of such construction, but this proves nothing. The main object in calling attention to the matter at all is to show how continuous the changes or modifications of the weapon must have been; and how useless it is to propose to limit them by any kind of dogma.

We now enter on barbarous times, when the Romans, driven from all their transalpine possessions, struggled to maintain even the imperial city itself against the conquering Teuton. Agathias, writing in the sixth century, rivals the preciseness of Polybius in his account of the Frankish weapon, the *angon*, to which he deservedly attaches much importance. It is described as a moderate-sized javelin with long barbs, and a shaft covered with iron plates to defend it from a sword-cut. We learn from him also the purpose of the Franks in using this weapon, and the way they used it.^a There is not, however, one word

^a Agathias, *Hist.* xi. 5.

further as to the make or length of the weapon which would justify the assumption that it resembled the actual pilum in any of its peculiarities except that it was barbed. It will, however, be seen from this account that the Frankish angon was a kind of cross between the legitimate old classical pilum and the later spiculum of Vegetius. It must have had the strong barbed head of the former with the short iron stem and long wooden shaft of the other. Had the angon had the long pilum stem the iron plates would not have been required to ensure it from sword-cuts. Possibly the Franks discovered that the double advantages of both spear and javelin were combined in the form of the more substantial angon. The slender, soft-tempered, long iron stem of the true pilum was manifestly but ill-fitted to receive a cavalry charge. No weapon, however, purely answering to what the pilum must have been according to Agathias—that is a barbed pilum head on a short stem some nine inches or a foot in length—has yet been met with. The thin iron plating of the shaft would hardly survive so long a period of corrosion.

But, instead of this, an arm, perfectly corresponding to the old Cæsarean pilum, has been found occasionally in graves; and because such graves were Teutonic, and the weapon barbed, it has been the fashion of late years to term them *angons*. Yet such examples are but rare, and we must consider the angon must have been in very general use indeed among the Franks, to justify the appellation of ἐπιχώρια δόρατα given by Agathias. Their merely occasional presence then in the numbers of Merovingian and Ripuarian graves yearly investigated in France and Germany would more reasonably prove them to have been emblems of military leadership, rather than ἐπιχώρια δόρατα, or the national weapon. Professor Köchly^a is strongly disposed to see the real Cæsarean pilum in these rarely-occurring examples, and such an attribution is probably correct.

It may at first be considered difficult to show in what way the Franks, and other Teutons, obtained possession of a weapon so closely resembling the pilum of Cæsar, as this pseudo-angon; and the more so, when Vegetius gives us to understand the old pilum had become obsolete even in his time. Certain Roman legions, however, in the more remote provinces may have continued its use down to a very late period, and isolated examples must have survived for centuries. Moreover Vegetius himself has left us the important information, that the *barbarian troops* in the Roman army alone retained the use of the spiculum, or altered pilum, under

^a Loc. cit. Compare also the Orlen pilum, now in the Wiesbaden museum, figured in Lindenschmit's *Alterthümer* (band i. heft 8, tav. 6), with the plate of angons in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi.

the name of *bebra*—a name we never meet with elsewhere. They were therefore accustomed to the use of the weapon, which they may have subsequently restored in the Teuton ranks to its Polybian character—for the so-called angon is invariably barbed. In any case the angon was most closely allied with the pilum, and used in precisely the same manner, and for the same purpose.

The whole history of the Roman pilum, during the almost completed millennium of its authenticated existence, from the *Horatia pila* of Ennius and Livy, to its final mention in the military records of Vegetius, is somewhat perplexing, as might well be expected. The merely incidental notices of it that occur in the works of many writers, at very long intervals, afford the only light we have to guide us in the attempt to track its many changes and vicissitudes. Yet, on the whole, its course is tolerably clear.

Nor can doubt exist as to the great object of its use. Marius employed his pila against the Cimbri; the Dictator Sulpicius against the Boian Gauls; Cæsar against the Transalpine Gauls; all for the same one purpose of bearing down the enemy's shield, and rendering him easily vulnerable. So long as shields remained in use, the great desideratum in warfare was to deprive the foe of this protection. Cæsar relates an instance even of his soldiers pulling down the shields of the Gauls with their hands.^a Precisely similar, according to Agathias, were the tactics of the Franks. The Sicambrian warrior planted his angon deep in the foeman's shield, bore it down by sheer force, and then used his *francisca* with fatal effect.

This angon of the Franks, so long withdrawn from identification, like the Roman pilum, had almost passed into a myth, when, some years since, I discovered an example of it in the Musée de l'Artillerie at Paris, which I still believe to be the most reconcileable with the account of Agathias. It was found in a Frankish grave in the department of the Moselle, and is engraved in our *Archæologia*.^b It was then bent at right angles, and one could well picture to one's self the fierce Frank wrenching it down, as it stood quivering in his adversary's shield, till it bent under his weight.

When I last saw the weapon at Paris, it had been unfortunately restored to its

^a Cæsar, *De Bell. Gall.* i. 52. "Reperti sunt complures nostri milites, qui in phalangas insilirent, et scuta manibus revellerent, et desuper vulnerarent."

^b *Archæologia*, xxv. plate v.

original form, and thereby totally deprived of the historic interest attached to it as a probably unique illustration of the use of the angon, as detailed by Agathias.^a

Dr. Lindenschmit's kindness enables me further to exhibit a facsimile model of a Roman *gladius* (see woodcut) found at Bischofsheim, near Mayence, with a number of other Roman objects. It measures 25 inches in length, but a portion of the hilt is wanting. Its greatest width is an inch and three quarters. As will be observed, it is double-edged, and tapers away to a long, and extremely strong, almost quadrilateral point, which seems to have been the speciality of the weapon. If the temper of the blade was equal to the strength of the point, it would have been capable of piercing anything.

Examples of Roman *gladii* are very rare. Dr. Lindenschmit has engraved one in the *Alterthümer*, found in the Rhine near Bonn. It is about an inch and a half longer than this Mayence example, and has the word SABINA stamped on the handle.^b

Another example has been quite recently found in Würtemberg. It is some two inches and a half longer and something broader than ours, which is precisely of the same size with the two *gladii* ^c found in the excavations of the Emperor of the French at Alise-Sainte-Reine. I know of no further examples of the weapon than these five.

^a Examples of the pilum might reasonably have been expected in England, but I only know of one possible instance, figured in Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi. pl. 2, fig. 4. This was found in a Roman *castrum* on Hod Hill, near Blandford, Dorset, with other Roman reliques. It has a pyramidal cusp, and measures 22 inches, though broken.

^b *Alterthümer*, vol. i. heft viii. taf. 6.

^c *Revue Archéologique*, vol. x. Armes d'Alise.



XVI.—*An Inventory of the Effects of Henry Howard, K. G., Earl of Northampton, taken on his death in 1614, together with a transcript of his Will; prefaced by a Letter to Charles Spencer Perceval, Esq., LL.D., Director, from EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, Esq., F.S.A., Local Secretary for Warwickshire.*

Read June 4, 1869.

MY DEAR SIR,

THE Inventory which I have the honour to exhibit to the Society of Antiquaries, by the kindness of its owner the Baroness North, was taken on the death of Henry Howard Earl of Northampton, June 15th 1614, and may not be unworthy of the notice of the Society, whether we consider the historical importance which must ever attach to the character of "The Lord Privy Seal," as his Lordship is here officially called, disagreeably connected as his memory is with the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury; or the still existing "Northampton," or as it is now called Northumberland," House, built by this same Earl, "with Spanish gold," says Osborne, about the year 1605.

Of the enduring interest of ancient Inventories, in bringing before us the exact state of manners and times long gone by, there can be no doubt. It has been often pointed out by many antiquaries of note, and yet few such records, comparatively speaking, have as yet appeared in print. Mr. John Gough Nichols, in his Preface to the "Unton Inventories," ably edited by him for the Berkshire Ashmolean Society in 1841, has noticed the publication of several other ancient Inventories; and since that time a few more have been printed, the most remarkable being the volume privately printed by Mr. J. O. Halliwell in 1834, entitled "Ancient Inventories of Furniture, Pictures, Tapestry, Plate, &c. illustrative of the Domestic Manners of the English in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." Of this collection, the most curious are the Inventories taken upon the death of the celebrated Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth Castle in 1588, and that on the death of his widow, Lettice Knolles, widow of Walter Devereux Earl of Essex, and afterwards Countess of Leicester (at Drayton Bassett), in 1634: none of them, however, will yield in importance to the Inventory which is now exhibited; and in the enumeration of plate and jewels it exceeds, if I am not mistaken, any that have been hitherto published.

The manuscript was discovered among the large collection of miscellaneous writings belonging to the Baroness North at Wroxton, in Oxfordshire. It is a

thin folio of twenty-five leaves, in somewhat dilapidated condition, and is evidently coeval with the period (1614), if it is not the original Inventory itself. To the transcript which I have made I have added a few notes in explanation of obscure words; and I here beg to express my thanks to George Scharf, Esq. F.S.A., Secretary and Keeper of the National Portrait Gallery, for his kind assistance in elucidating the identity of the portraits mentioned in the Inventory.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

EVELYN PH. SHIRLEY.

Lower Eatington Park, Stratford-on-Avon,

May 20, 1869.

AN INVENTORY OF THE LATE LO. PRIVY SEALE HIS JEWELS AND PLATE WITH THEIR SEVERALL WAIGHTES AND VALUATIONS TAKEN THE XVIth DAIE OF JUNE, 1614, TOGETHER WITH AN INVENTORY OF THE GOODES AND HOWSHOLDESTUFFE OF THE SAID LO. PRIVY SEALE AS WELL IN NORTHAMPTON HOWSE AS ATT GRENEWICHE.

Imprimis a standinge cupp of golde in a case of redd velvett waighinge 23 ounces penny w ^t	lxix ^{li}
Item another standinge cuppe of golde in a case of redd velvett waighinge 30 ounces wantinge 2 ^d wtt.	CX ^{li}
Item a cristall bowle of a rocke like unto a shell sett in golde waighinge 8 ounces 3 quarters penny waighte	xv ^{li}
Item three bowles of golde in a cabonett of redd velvett waighinge 21 ounces dim. di. qr.	lxiiij ^{li} x ^s
Item a clocke of golde and christall sett withe rubies and diamondes waighinge 12 ounces one qu. 19 graines	xlvi ^{li}
Item a small lower glasse in a frame of gold ^a with fower small diamondes in the one end and one in the other, the sand and all waighinge five ounces wantinge sixe graines	xiii ^{li}
Item a large gold ringe with a large rowghe saphire uncutt waighinge halfe an ounce and twentie graynes	xxx ^s
Item a longe Jewell with a large Rubie in the Toppe, two great square table Diamondes, and a pendant pearle, waighinge one ounce wantinge one penny waighte and 16 graines	ccc ^{li}

Bequeathed by
will to the Lo.
Tres.^b

^a An hour-glass of this description, richly enamelled and set with jewels, is engraved in the second volume of Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages*. London, 1843.

^b Thomas Howard Earl of Suffolk, Lord High Treasurer 1614-1618. See the words of this bequest and of the others noted in the margin, in the copy of the Earl of Northampton's will, *post*.

Item a great Jewell with sixe faire diamonds and other sixe lesse, waighinge two ounces penny waichte 8 graines	viii ^{cl}
Item ten buttons of golde with Rubies waighing two ounces and a halfe wantinge 17 graines	x ^{li}
Item an olde garnishe for a George and an olde ringe of golde without stones, and waighinge 9 ounces and a half 2 ^d waichte five graines	xii ^{li}
Item a little crosse with 6 faire diamonds 2 ^d waichte and a halfe, stringe and all	xxviii ^{li}
Item 16 sparkes of diamonds	vii ^{li} iii ^j s
Item one round great pearle	iii ^j ^{li}
Item 15 little Rubies	vii ^s vi ^d
Item one Diamond	l ^s
Item a Rubie	xxx ^s
Item a picture of Queene Elizabeth sett in agatt with one Diamond fower Rubies waighinge one ounce	v ^{li}
Item 4 buttons of golde sett withe one round pearle a piece and one without, waighinge 8 penny waichte dim.	xx ^s
Item a hoope Ringe of golde with a Rose of Diamonds fower penny waichte 16 graines	xx ^{li}
Item one golde Ringe withe a Hiacinthe waighinge 3 ^d waichte 3 graines	x ^s
Item a crosse garnished with 8 Table Diamonds and two pointed and two pendant pearles waighinge half an ounce wantinge two graines	lx ^{li}
Item a blewe Saphire in form of a halfe moone hanginge in a chayne of 7 Diamonds, whereof one is a faire one waighinge seaven penny waichte nyne graines	xvi ^{li}
Item one golde Ringe with a large Table Enralde waighinge one quarter of an ounce two penny waichte	xviii ^{li}
Item ten rocke Enralses uncutt	x ^s
Item a boxe withe 38 small Diamonds	xl ^v ^{li}
Item a gold Ringe with a Table Diamond large, waighinge 3 ^d waights, with his stringe	xxx ^{li}
Item a faire pendant paire pearle waighing penny waichte and 6 graines	viii ^{li}
Item a gold ringe sett with 15 Diamonds in a true lovers' knotte with the wordes <i>Nec astu nec ense</i> , waighinge three penny waights thirtene graines	iii ^j ^{li}
Item a Ringe with a large Table Diamond given by the <i>Counte Palatine</i> , waighinge 6 penny waights 10 graines	vii ^c ^{li}
Item a Tablett of Gold with a picture of my Lord of <i>Essex</i> , waighinge one ounce 3 qrtrs. 2 ^d waichte 3 graines	vi ^{li}
Item ten buttons of gold sett with 4 pearles and one Table Rubie, a piece two ounces	vi ^{li}
Item 16 gold buttons with eight ragged pearles, a piece 2 ounces 3 ^d waichte wantinge 3 graines	vi ^{li}
Item a faire large blewe Saphire cut Diamondwise sett in a half moone of golde seaven penny waichte sixe graines	x ^{li}

Item a rope of rounde great pearl orient of one hundred 25 carethes in toto	CCCCXXXIII ^{li}
Item five golde buttons with 4 pearles a piece, the other stones beinge taken out, waighinge one ounce wantinge 8 graines	lv ^s
Item five other golde buttons with fower pearles a piece, and in each a sparke of Diamond, waighinge one ounce half penny waighte	vii ^{li}
Item a chaine of golde enamelled, the lincks lozindgewise, 4 ounces 14 ^d waighte	xiii ^{li}
Item a seale of cristall of the rocke sett in golde and garnished with sparke rubies, 4 ounces 13 ^d waighte and a half	iii ^{li}
Item a Tablett in Golde with the picture of our Ladic, waighinge 2 ounces sixe penny waighte	vii ^{li}
Item V sergeantes ringes waighinge one ounce three quarters 4 graines ^a	iii ^{li} x ^s
Item a hoope ringe with 9 sparkes, one painted [?], the rest wantinge, 2 ^d waighte	iii ^{li}

<i>Garters.</i>	Item a Garter, buckles, and pendants of golde garnished with stones, twelve beinge diamondes and 16 rubies, waighing three ounces and a quarter	xii ^{li}
	Item a <i>Garter</i> with buckles and pendants wroughte with Antiques of golde and garnished with 5 small diamondes and eight small rubies, waighinge fowre ounces wantinge three penny waighte	x ^{li}
	Item a <i>Garter</i> garnished with gold onelie and enamelled, waighinge two ounces three qrters three penny waighte	vacat.

Georges. Earl of Somers- sett. ^b	Item a large agatt <i>George</i> circuled with gold and sett with 57 small diamondes, waighinge two ounces	C ^{li}
Bequeathed to the Prince.	Item an agatt <i>George</i> , havinge on the obverse the figure of <i>Christ</i> standinge upon the Dragon circled with golde and garnished with 67 small diamondes, waighinge one oz. 4 ^d w ^{tt}	CXX ^{li}
	Item a <i>George</i> cutt in blewe stone called Lapis Lazarus circuled with golde and enamelled onelie, waighinge one ounce 3 qu ^{rs} 3 ^d waighte	vi ^{li}
	Item a rounde embossed <i>George</i> of gold and enamelled which usuallie hanged at the Collar of the order, and garnished with diamondes small and great, 27 ounces two dim.	XXXV ^{li}
	Item a Collar of the order waighinge twenty eight ounces five penny waighte	lxxxiiiij ^{li}
	Item a pomander <i>George</i> with 3 pendant rubies	vacat.
	Item a watche <i>George</i> , beinge one of those two when the Inventorie was taken which the ff th [?Lords] subscribed, that then remained in Mr Witt the goldsmithes hands waighinge 2oz: 2 ^d waighte	iiii ^{li}
Not prized.	Item one other <i>George</i> sett with diamondes whereof parts were my Lo: and parte were Mr Williams the goldsmithes, and latelie broughte home	

^a The Rings given on their creation by serjeants-at-law to the Lord Privy Seal among other high officers of State were to be, according to Sir John Fortescue, of the value of six *scuta*, that is, as elsewhere appears, one pound sterling.

^b Robert Carr, cr. in 1613 Earl of Somerset.

Plate.

				Ounces	Quar.	Di.	
Inprimis one paire of liverie ^a pottes damasked ^b	.	.	.	220	0	0	Guilte.
Item one paire of guilte stoopes	.	.	.	101	0	0	
Item two guilte Candlesticks	.	.	.	106	0	0	
Item foore fruite dishes partlie guilte	.	.	.	039	0	0	
Item one paire of flaggons snaile fashion	.	.	.	068	0	0	
Item three little trencher saltes	.	.	.	014	2	0	
Item fiteene spoones	.	.	.	030	1	0	
Item twelve trencher plates	.	.	.	108	0	0	
Item one pillar salte	.	.	.	048	1	0	
Item a double pillar salte and a trencher salte	.	.	.	051	2	0	
Item one bason and Ewer	.	.	.	140	0	di. q	
Item one other bason and Ewer	.	.	.	104	0	0	
Item one standinge Cupp and Cover	.	.	.	040	0	0	
Item one shippe bason and Ewer	.	.	.	082	2	0	
Item one paire of flaggon pottes	.	.	.	106	2	0	
Item one other paire of flaggon pottes	.	.	.	160	0	0	
Item one other paire of flaggon pottes	.	.	.	160	0	0	
Item one paire of candlestickes	.	.	.	117	2	0	
Item one <i>Norenburgh</i> Cupp and Cover	.	.	.	054	0	0	
Item one paire of candlestickes	.	.	.	113	2	0	
Item one paire of stoopes	.	.	.	117	3	0	
Item one paire of flaggon pottes	.	.	.	094	2	0	
Item one bason and Ewer	.	.	.	084	1	0	
Item a standinge cupp and cover	.	.	.	086	1	0	
Item another standinge cupp and cover	.	.	.	067	3	0	
Item another standinge cupp and cover	.	.	.	070	3	0	
Item another standinge cuppe and cover	.	.	.	062	0	0	
Item another standinge cupp and cover	.	.	.	064	0	0	
Item another standinge cupp and cover	.	.	.	048	0	0	
Item another standinge cuppe and cover	.	.	.	056	0	0	
Item another standinge cupp and cover	.	.	.	053	0	di.	
Item another standinge cupp and cover	.	.	.	046	0	0	
Item another standinge cupp and cover	.	.	.	039	3	0	
Item another standinge cupp and cover	.	.	.	033	3	0	

^a Liverie, applied to articles made in a quantity, according to a fixed pattern, for distribution in the several apartments. Nichols in *Unton Inventories*.

^b Damasked. The term is not usually applied to plate, though constantly to linen and silk; it is said first to have been applied to linens figured in imitation of the silks made at Damascus by the manufacturers of Flanders. See Nichols's *Glossarial Index to the Unton Inventories*.

	Ounces	Quar.	Di.
Item another standinge cupp and cover	031	0	0
Item another standinge cupp and cover	030	2	0
Item a little <i>Noremburghe</i> cupp and cover	021	2	0
Item another <i>Noremburghe</i> cupp and cover	053	0	0
Item a paire of livery pottes	104	0	0
Item another paire of livery pottes	084	2	0
Item another paire of livery pottes	077	0	0
Item Three Tankers	057	3	0
Item a cuppe of Essaye	009	0	0

Some totall of all the aforesaid

guilte plate 3302 3 0
at vi^s the ounce

*This plate is overcast 39 oz. 3^{qrs},
for the w^{ch} is to be abated
11^{li} 18^s 6^d, and then the som
is but 978^{li} 18^s*

w^{ch} sold to Mr *Hooker* and Mr
Havers goldsmiths, at vi^s the
ounce, payable in November
next by bond 990^{li} 16^s 6^d

Executor at y^s
per oz. :
10^{li} 7^s 6^d.
Lo. Willm.
Howard at 4^s
per oz. :
7^{li} 12^s.

Item one egge standinge cuppe and cover	041	2	0
Item one Ivory cupp garnished with pearles and pretious stones	038	0	0

Totall of bothe thes sommes is xvi^{li} xix^s vi^d

Some Totall of all the guilte
plate is 1008^{li} 16^s 0^d

White.	Imprimis one fruit baskett	040	0	0
	Item a deep bason	086	0	di.
	Item a table baskett	157	0	0
	Item one posnett ^a and cover	038	0	di.
	Item one dozen of plates	085	0	0
	Item one fruite dishe	030	1	0
	Item halfe a dozen of plates	047	0	0
	Item one bason and ewer scallop fashion	093	1	0
	Item a table baskett	134	2	0
	Item a dozen of plates	112	0	0
	Item a chafinge dishe	058	3	0
	Item two dozen of spoones	041	0	di.
	Item a dozen of plates	112	0	0
	Item half a dozen of sawcers	024	0	0
	Item three little Trencher salts	014	3	0

^a Posnett, a little cup for posset.

	Ounces	Quar.	Di.	
Item a deepe bason and a spoute pott	068	2	0	
Item a porrenger and cover	018	1	0	
Item 7 Candlestickes	173	0	0	
Item 5 spoones marked with W. A.	007	1	0	
Item a bowle	014	0	0	
Item a bason and ewer and a small candlesticke	053	0	0	
Item a smaile bason and ewer	076	0	0	
Item a posnett cup	071	0	0	
Item two livery pottes	080	0	0	
Item a chafinge dishe	029	0	0	
Item a stondishe with dust ^a	029	0	0	
Item a bowle and cover	020	0	0	
Item a bell	022	2	0	
Item a castinge bottle ^b and a little candlestick	008	1	0	
Item a Tanckerde pott	023	0	0	
Item a lampe	102	3	0	
Item a warming panne	071	0	di.	
Imprimis a charger	097	0	0	Silver vessel.
Item fower platters	214	0	0	
Item 6 dishes	166	0	di.	
Item 6 dinner dishes	135	0	0	
Item 4 half platters	147	0	di.	
Item 6 sallett dishes and one pie plate	134	2	0	
Totall of the white plate and silver vessell is				2820 1 0
Which beinge solde to the Lord Tres ^r at v ^s the ounce, cometh to				705 ^{li} 1 ^s 6 ^d
Item a cupbord contayninge seeven parcels of <i>Purslane</i> ^c cuppes trimmed with silver and guilte, valued at			xii ^b	Ladie Lumley.
Item a standishe of silver with a cover, made scalloppwise, with a little inckhorne, sold unto Mr <i>Binge</i> at v ^s the ounce, conteyninge	033	0	0	
Which amounteth unto				viii ^{li} v ^s

Howshold-stuffe at London.

Imprimis fower pieces of buskedged verdure ^d with the armes in a losendge	xxviii ^{li}	xvi ^s	Greate Cham-ber.
Item sixe greene stooles embrodered with velvett and greene twist upon clothe and a little backe chaire suteable to the same		iii ^{li}	

^a Probably an inkstand with fine sand to be used as we use blotting paper.^b Castinge bottle, a bottle used for casting or sprinkling perfume; introduced about the middle of the sixteenth century. Halliwell's *Dictionary*.^c Purslane, porcelain.^d Buskedged verdure, green tapestry edged with busk, or linen cloth. Verdure is, according to Halliwell, used for tapestry generally.

	Item a greene velvett chaire and a longe cushin, and fower greene velvett stooles .	iii ^{li} x ^s
	Item a foote carpett crosse billeted ^a in coulors, contayninge 6 yardes .	l ^s
	Item a cupboard and Turkie carpet	xv ^s
	Item a great paire of brasse <i>Norenburgh</i> Andirons ^b	iii ^{li} v ^s
Dininge Chamber.	Imprimis five pieces of buskedged hanginges of huntinge worke, conteyninge 132 elles et dim ^v at iij ^s viii ^d the sticke	xxiiij ^{li} iij ^s
	Item a longe Turkie carpett of Englishe worke with the Earle of Northampton his armes, beinge 5 yardes and 3 quarters longe	xij ^{li}
	Item a high chaire, a lowe chaire, a short cushin, a longe cushin, two high stooles, and one lowe stoole of clothe of golde, the grounde maidenheare with frindge and tarsels of golde lined with damaske watchett ^c and maidenheare	xiiij ^{li}
	Item 6 highe stooles of russet velvett frindged	ij ^{li}
	Item a longe table of walnuttree	xlv ^s
	Item a cupboard of walnuttree with a Turkie carpett, the grounde redd	xl ^s
	Item two small creepers ^b with brazen toppes	ii ^s vi ^d
	Item a foote carpett of Turkey worke, the grounde redd and yelow	iii ^{li}
Withdrawinge Chamber.	Imprimis fowre pieces of busted ^d hanginges of the storie of <i>Sawle and David</i> , con- teyninge 105 elles at iij ^s ij ^d the sticke	xxi ^{li} xviij ^s vi ^d
	Item one highe Chaire with a longe cushin, two scrowle chaires, two highe stooles of branched clothe of silver, the grounde blacke frindged and tassled with blacke silke and silver, all suteable	xi ^{li}
	Item a large foote carpett of Turkie worke	v ^{li}
	Item a wallnuttree cupboarde with a Turkie Cupboorde clothe	xxx ^s
	Item 6 highe stooles of russett velvett frindged with silke of the same colour	l ^s
Studie Cham- ber.	Imprimis three pieces of hanginges whereof two are of the former storie of <i>Sawle and David</i> , the third of men in Armes, conteyninge 80 elles at iij ^s ij ^d the stick	xvi ^{li} xliij ^s iij ^d
	Item a large chaire with too low stooles of stuffe Taffata striped black & yelow tar- seled with blacke silke and golde frindge	xxx ^s
	Item a <i>China</i> guilte cabonett upon a frame	xxx ^s
	Item a <i>Dansque</i> ^e cabonett inlaid with coloured wood the fore front three stories of colombes	v ^{li}

^a Billeted, a term apparently derived from the billets of heraldry, and applied to a pattern formed of oblong pieces crossing each other.

^b Andirons and creepers. The andirons, the ornamental irons or brasses on each side of the hearth; the creepers, the smaller low irons used for the support of the blocks of wood between the andirons.

^c Watchett, a pale blue color. Halliwell.

^d Busted, query fustian? See the Bury Wills (Camd. Soc.), note p. 250.

^e Dansque, Danish.

Item two longe windowe curtanes of striped buffin, ^a red white and greene, lined w th greene saye ^b	xxiii ^s	
Item two Andirons topped with copper	ii ^s	
Item three highe stooles and a carpett of Turkey worke	xxx ^s	
Item a table of wainescott onelie		Little Study.
Imprimis fowre pieces of hanginges of <i>Bruzels</i> worke garnished in the border with Cardinall <i>Wolsey</i> his armes conteyninge 88 elles at v ^s the sticke	xxij ^{li}	Bed Chamber.
Item a field bedstead of <i>China</i> worke blacke and silver branched with silver with the Armes of the Earle of Northampton upon the head peece, the toppe and valance of purple velvett striped downe with silver laces and knottes of silver, the frindge blewe silke and silver with 8 cuppes and plumes spangled suteable, the 5 curtanes of purple taffata with buttones and lace of silver, the counterpoint of purple damaske suteable laced, with two featherbeds and one fustian downe bed, a woolbed, a French quilte, one fustian blankett, and another blankett, one bowlster, and two pillowes	xxx ^{li}	
Item a highe chaire, a longe cushin, two highe stooles of russett velvett frindged but not lined suteable to the bed	iii ^j ^{li}	
Item a lowe chaire, three highe stooles, and 2 lowe stooles of russett velvett frindged all suteable	xl ^s	
Item two Turkie foote carpettes	xxx ^s	
Item two small tables with two Turkie carpettes	xxv ^s	
Item a lowe stoole of clothe of silver branched with redd and greene silke and covered	iii ^s iii ^j ^d	
Item two Cabonettes, whereof one is of ebony inlaied with white bone, the other of crimson velvett laid with silver and golde lace	vi ^{li}	
Item a Desque with a Cabonett therein of crimson velvett laced.	xl ^s	
Item three pictures, whereof one is of the Passion, another of the <i>Kinge</i> , and the third of the <i>Queene</i> his mother, all three with taffata curtens	xxx ^s	
Item a skreenc of tabine ^c frindged with silke frindge and lined with bayes	xx ^s	
Item two buffin greene windowe curtens striped with yelowe	xxx ^s	
Item a fire shovell, tonges, and crepers topped with brasse	vi ^s	
Item a wallnutt tree cupboord	xiii ^s	
Imprimis a wainescott standinge Table	v ^s	Pallet Chamber.

^a Buffin, a kind of coarse cloth.^b Saye, serge or woollen cloth.^c Tabine, a kind of silk. Halliwell. *Tabinet*, at the present day, is a stuff of silk and wool and mixed.

Item fowre Turkie cushines	x ^s
Item a feather bed, a blanquett, and a grene rugge	ij ^{li}
Little Gallery. Imprimis seaven pieces of leather hanginges golde and azure ten foote deepe	xviii ^{li}
Item a wainscott Table and an old Turkie carpet	xvi ^s
Item eight curtens of satten of <i>Bruges</i> redd and yelow	vij ^{li}
Item 3 pictures at lengthe of the <i>Kinge</i> , the <i>Queene</i> mother, and the French kinge	xxvi ^h x ^s
Item a picture of the <i>Earle</i> of <i>Lenox</i> ^a	
A picture of the duchesse of Norff. the Lord Audleys heire ^b	
A picture of Edward Duke of Buckingham ^c	
A picture of the Countis of Wiltes ^d	
A picture of my Ladie Margaret, ^e the Duke of Norff. daughter	
A picture of the countesse of Westmerland ^f daughter to the Earle of Surrey	
A picture of the Earle of Essex ^g	
A picture of the Earle of Ormonde ^h	
A picture of the Lord Viscount Bindon ⁱ	
A picture of the Lord Admiral's ^j Father	
A picture of the Lord of Walden ^k	

^a Probably Matthew Stuart fourth Earl of Lennox, Regent of Scotland 1570.

^b Margaret, eldest daughter of Thomas Lord Audley, born 1540. See her portrait, engraved in Lord Braybrooke's *History of Audley End*, from the original by Lucas de Heere, A.D. 1562, p. 30.

^c Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, K.G. beheaded 1521. In the supplement to Granger's *Biographical History of England* it is stated, that there is a portrait of the Duke at Woburn Abbey, but no such picture occurs in the printed catalogue (1834). This Duke of Buckingham is engraved by Houbraken, from a picture at Magdalene college, Cambridge, with the wrong name of Henry the father.

^d Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard second Duke of Norfolk, and wife of Thomas Butler Earl of Wiltshire.

^e By Margaret daughter of Lord Audley, second wife of Thomas fourth Duke of Norfolk. She married Robert Sackville Earl of Dorset. There is a genuine half-length portrait of this lady at Knole.

^f Jane Howard, married to Charles Neville, Earl of Westmerland, and sister of Henry Earl of Northampton, died 1593.

^g Robert Devereux second Earl of Essex, or perhaps Robert the third Earl.

^h Thomas Butler tenth Earl of Ormond, the friend of King Edward VI.

ⁱ Properly Viscount Howard of Bindon. There were three Viscounts, Thomas Howard, second son of Thomas third Duke of Norfolk, who died in 1582, and his two sons, Henry who died 1590, and Thomas who died in 1610.

^j William Howard, fourth surviving son of Thomas second Duke of Norfolk, created Baron Howard of Effingham in 1554, ob. 1573.

^k Thomas Howard, younger son of Thomas fourth Duke of Norfolk, created Earl of Suffolk in 1603, ob. 1626.

A picture of the Lady Berkley ^a	.	.	.	.	.	.
A picture of the Lady Lomley ^b	.	.	.	.	.	.
A picture of the Lord Admirall Seymour ^c	.	.	.	.	.	.
A picture of the Ladie Bullen, ^d Queen Anne's Mother	.	.	.	.	.	.
A picture of the two children of the late Earle of Essex ^e	.	.	.	.	.	.
A picture of the ladie Bevill ^f	.	.	.	.	.	.
Eight pictures of the howse of Norfolk from John Duke of Norfolk to the Lord Matravers ^g now beinge.	.	.	.	.	.	.
Item five waxe imported pictures of the five sences, being Italian worke under glasses	.	.	.	.	.	xx ^s

Imprimis seaven large and deepe pieces of Tapestry of the storie of <i>Christ</i> , without borders, contayninge 429 elles, at v ^s the sticke	.	.	.	.	cvii ^{li} v ^s
Item a large square China worke table and frame of blacke varnishe and golde ^h	.	.	.	.	v ^{li}
Item a paire of large Androns of <i>Noremburgh</i> worke	.	.	.	.	iiiij ^{li}
Item a paire of Molineux globes covered with greene taffata ⁱ	.	.	.	.	iiiij ^{li}
Item a wainscott table with a Turkie carpett	.	.	.	.	xxxv ^s
Item eight pictures of the Sibels	.	.	.	.	xl ^s
Item a picture of St. Francis with leaves, the one of the picture of our ladie, the other of <i>Christ</i> holdinge the crosse	.	.	.	.	xxvi ^s
Item the picture of Stephen Gardner	.	.	.	.	x ^s

Longe Gallery.

^a Catherine, second daughter of the celebrated Henry Earl of Surrey, and sister of Henry Earl of Northampton. She died in 1596, being the wife of Henry Lord Berkeley.

^b Jane, eldest daughter and coheir of Henry Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, and first wife of John Lord Lumley, who died in 1609.

^c Thomas Lord Seymour, Lord High Admiral, beheaded in 1549. A portrait of him is at Longleat.

^d The Countess of Wiltshire, Elizabeth daughter of Thomas Howard second Duke of Norfolk.

^e Robert Devereux second Earl of Essex had three children, Robert, afterwards third Earl; Lady Frances, who married William Seymour, Duke of Somerset; and Lady Dorothy, the wife of Sir Henry Shirley, Bart.

^f Frances, daughter of Sir Henry Knevitt, wife of Sir William Bevill of Cornwall. She afterwards married Roger fifth Earl of Rutland, whose daughter by her married George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

^g Sir John Howard, "Jack of Norfolk," created Duke of Norfolk in 1483. The Lord Maltravers of 1614 was Henry Frederick, eldest surviving son of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel.

^h Lacquered work.

ⁱ Hakluyt, in the preface to his *Principall Navigations* (1589), says, "I have contented myselfe with inserting one of the best generall mappes of the world onely, untill the comming out of a very large and most exact terrestriall globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoveries, both Spanish, Portugall, and English, composed by M. Emmerie Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare gentleman in his profession, being therein for divers yeeeres greatly supported by the purse and liberalitie of the worshipfull merchant, Mr. William Sanderson." For this reference I have to thank R. H. Major, Esq. F.S.A.

	Item the picture of Wickham B ^p of Winchester ^a	.	.	.	.	x ^s
	Item three pictures, one of the Scottish queene ^b	.	.	.	}	xv ^s
	another of Anselme Archbishop of Canterbury	.	.	.		
	the third of Margaret Countesse of Salisbury ^c	.	.	.		
	Item a picture of Queene Marie, large but not full	.	.	.	.	xxx ^s
	Item a large picture of St. <i>Francis</i>	.	.	.	.	xxx ^s
	Item a picture of the three Maries at the Tombe	.	.	.	.	xv ^s
	Item the picture of Christ and o ^r ladie with an arched frame	.	.	.	.	xxv ^s
	Item a picture of the Angell appearinge to the Shepheardes	.	.	.	.	xx ^s
	Item a large nighte piece of the birthe of Christ	.	.	.	.	iiij ^{li}
Great Withdrawing Chamber.	Item a large paire of <i>Noremburgh</i> Androns	.	.	.	.	iii ^{li} x ^s
Bigger Great Chamber.	Item a chimney piece of wainescott, not sett upp.					
Parlor.	Imprimis a large piece of Tapestry hanginges of the storie of <i>Joseph</i> , conteyninge 84 elles, at iiij ^s the sticke	.	.	.	.	xvi ^{li} xvi ^s
	Item a highe chaire and two lowe stooles of figured satten, blacke and russett, fringed with blacke	.	.	.	.	xx ^s
	Item two small Turkie carpettes, whereof one is upon the ground	.	.	.	.	xxx ^s
	Item one drawinge table of wainescotte	.	.	.	.	xv ^s
	Item a table covered with leather, belonginge to a cowche in the wardrobe	.	.	.	.	x ^s
	Item two deepe curtains of striped buffin lined with greene sage	.	.	.	.	xxx ^s
	Item one fire shovell, one paire of tonges, one paire of crepers	.	.	.	.	v ^s
Longe Wardrobe.	Imprimis eight pieces of course Tapistrie verdure hanginges lined with canvas, conteyninge 175 elles, at xx ^d a sticke	.	.	.	.	xiiij ^{li} xi ^s viii ^d
	Item one piece of busted verdure with armes in a lozenge, conteyninge 39 elles, at iiij ^s the sticke	.	.	.	.	vii ^h xvi ^s
	Item one course piece of Tapestry, beinge 12 elles, at xx ^d the sticke	.	.	.	.	xx ^s
	Item 7 pieces of riche Tapistrie, lined with Canvas, of <i>Bruxels</i> worke, sent to my Lord Privyseall from the Archduke, conteyninge 200 elles, at 35 ^s the sticke	.	.	.	.	ccc ^{li}
	Item eight other pieces of riche <i>Bruxels</i> hanginges, given by the Archduke to my Lord of <i>Dorsett</i> , conteyninge 250 elles, at 35 ^s the sticke	.	.	.	.	iiij ^c xxxvii ^{li} x ^s
	Item Three pieces of Tapistrie reasonable fine, quarter lined pale-wise, conteyninge 75 elles at 12 ^s a sticke	.	.	.	.	xlvi ^{li}

^a William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, ob. 1404.

^b The King's mother; or, as we now call her, Mary Queen of Scots.

^c Probably Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury, beheaded in 1541-2.

Item fowre pieces of Tapistrie with figures unlined, conteyninge some moralitic, beinge 122 elles dim: at viii ^s the sticke	xlix ^{li}
Item fewer pieces of Tapistrie of the storie of Joseph, lined, and suteable to the two pieces in the parlor, being 108 elles at iiij ^s per sticke	xxi ^{li} xii ^s
Item one piece of <i>Brussels</i> worke with the <i>Cardinal's</i> Armes, suteable to those in the bedchamber	vii ^{li}
Item two pieces of buskedge with redd white and yelow roses and bunches of grapes in the borders, conteyninge 55 elles at ij ^s iiij ^d the sticke	vi ^{li} viii ^s iiij ^d
Item three other pieces of buskedge of differinge suites conteyninge 52 elles at ij ^s iiij ^d the stick	vi ^{li} viii ^d
Item 5 olde pieces of imagerie hanginges, whereof one is quarter lined, being of seve- rall sortes, conteyninge 85 elles at ij ^s per sticke	viii ^{li} x ^s
Item one other old piece of imagerie hangings of a larger sorte conteyninge 31 elles at iiij ^s the sticke	iiij ^{li} xiii ^s
Item one small piece of busted hanginges of huntinge worke quarter lined, suitable to those in the dyninge chamber, contayninge 19 elles at iiij ^s vii ^d the sticke	iii ^{li} ix ^s viii ^d
Item fewer pieces of imagerie course stuffe, whereof three are lyned, conteyninge 96 elles at ij ^s the sticke	ix ^{li} xii ^s
Item two large Persian Carpettes	xxxij ^d
Item fowre shorte carpettes of verdure or follage conteyninge 24 elles at ij ^s vi ^d the sticke	iiij ^{li}
Item two small Turkie carpettes	xx ^s
Item Ten pieces of old verdure lined havinge the Armes and scallop shell of the Lord Dacres, whereof fowre at Greenwich in the Courte Lodgenge, all conteyninge 136 elles at ij ^s iiij ^d the sticke	ix ^{li} vi ^s iiij ^d
Item one great chaire of purple sattin imbrodered with clothe of gold and silver with a frindge suteable	x ^{li}
Item one scrowle chaire, one highe stoole, one lowe stoole, and one footstoole suteable to the former purple sattin chaire	
Item one faire crimson velvett chaire richlie imbosted with copper and spread eagles, and blewe and white flowers, China worke, the frame painted with gold, and my Lord's crest upon the same	l ^s
Item a blacke velvett chaire embosted with copper with a frame suteable	l ^s
Item a white satten chaire with a runninge worke of crimson satten embrodered betwene with slippes of senerall coulors with a frame silvered and painted suteable	iii ^{li} v ^s
Item one little backe chaire of clothe of gold embrodered with golde twiste	xv ^s
Item one old crimson bed whereof the toppe is taffata, 5 curtens, and the head of crimson velvett, the curtens beinge all laced with silver and gold lace and looped and buttoned with crimson and silver harte wise, the valance of crimson velvett laced suteable with a deepe frindge of crimson silke and silver	v ^{li}

Item one neue crimson velvett longe cushen lined with crimson damaske and frindged and tarseled with crimson silke	xxx ^s
Item one old field bed of blacke and crimson velvett imbrodred with white lions and the Staffordes knotte 5 curtens of Spanish satten belonginge to the bed	l ^s
Item one China cushen imbrodred with birdes, beastes, and flowers, the ground of white Grogeron ^a lined with yelow taffata	x ^s
Item one longe cushen of Tawney velvett imbrodered with wroughte slippes of severell coulors lined with chaungeable taffata and laced and frindged with orange Tawney and silver	xl ^s
Item a longe cushion of Irish needle worke harte wise, lined with Tawney damaske and laced about with watchett and silver lace	xv ^s
Item a cowche of crimson leather printed border wise with silver and golde, one longe and two short cushions suteable to the same, lined with hayre coulored velvett and laced about with gold lace	xxxv ^s
Item two canvas wooll beds	xvi ^s
Item one sumpter clothe embrodred with my Lord's Armes	xxx ^s
Item one fustian downe bowlster belonginge to the fustian bed in the bedchamber	x ^s
Item two downe beds	viii ^{li}
Item three liverie beds and bowlsters	vii ^{li}
Item one large feather bed and bolster and one little olde bolster and one pillowe	iiij ^{li} x ^s
Item two neue pillowes	vi ^s
Item three old wollen blancquits	viii ^s
Item two old Rugges, the one greene and the other purple	viii ^s
Item one neue large greene Rugge	xxv ^s
Item one mingled coulored rugg, sett on bothe sides with a greene edge about it	xx ^s
Item one fustian blanchett	viii ^s
Item a folded Arch picture of our ladie with <i>Christ</i> in her Armes	xxx ^s
Item another arched foldinge picture with a golden fountaine in the middle and our Saviour issuinge blood there into	xx ^s
Item another large arched picture of the <i>Kinges</i> cominge to offer	xxx ^s
Item another little arched picture of the same subject	vi ^s
Item another arched foldinge picture	xxvi ^s
Item a picture of the Lord Tres ^r <i>Burghley</i> ^b	xxx ^s
Item one picture in lengthe of the Countesse of Hertford ^c	xxx ^s

^a Grogeron,—Grogram, a coarse kind of silk taffety, usually stiffened with gum. Halliwell.

^b William Cecil, the first and great Lord Burghley, ob. 1598.

^c The Countess of Hertford. (Two pictures.) Probably Frances Howard, sister of Charles Earl of Nottingham, who died in 1578; or, Frances, daughter of Thomas Viscount Howard of Bindon,—the second and third wives of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford.

Item another in lengthe of the Lord Viscount Bindon ^a	xxx ^s
Item one longe picture of the salutacion of our ladie .	iiij ^{li} x ^s
Item another picture of the ladie Hertford ^a .	x ^s
Item another picture of the ladie Berkley ^a sister to my Lord .	x ^s
Item an old picture of our Saviour taken from the Crosse .	xx ^s
Item fowre pictures of the Sibels .	xx ^s
Item a picture of the King's mother ^a at large .	xl ^s
Item a mappe of Rome .	x ^s
Item another of <i>Amsterdam</i> and another of <i>Antwerpe</i> .	v ^s
Item a picture of the ladie of Westmerland ^a .	v ^s
Item a picture of <i>Grave Maurice</i> ^b .	v ^s
Item a picture of diverse praiers foldinge wise in coulors .	v ^s
Item a little round table upon a colombe painted watchett and silver .	xiii ^s iiij ^d
Item one small table of <i>China</i> worke in golde and coulours with flies and wormes upon a pillar suteable .	xx ^s
Item a little gnilled cowche carved and cutt .	xv ^s
Item two large crimson buffin curtanes striped and purled ^c with greene .	xvi ^s

Imprimis one Tester with head and double valance frindged, and 7 curtens, whereof fowre are made upp, and 3 unmade, the stuffe of *China* taffata white embroidered with birdes and flowers. A counterpoint suteable lined with watchett Taffeta .

Higher
Library.

xxxv^{li}

Item a field bed of purple velvett with tester and single vallence imbrodred highe with flowers piramides wise with gold twiste and spangles, five curtens suteable, with a purple satten quilte suteable imbrodred, two carpetts of purple velvett suteable, the one for a square table, the other for a Cupboorde, furniture for a large Chaire, two highe stooles, and two lowe stooles suteable unmade and golde toppes .

cexx^{li}

Item the flowers slippes and borders of an imbrodred Cloke with silver cutt forthe into pieces to imbrodre some furniture for the howse withall .

iiij^{li}

Item ten yardes of deepe gold frindge .

viii^{li}

Item fortie two yardes of blacke sattin lace imbrodred of the breadthe of two inches .

x^{li} x^s

Item a blacke velvett foote clothe with frindge and 5 brode silver laces with headstall, raynes and the rest of the furniture suteable .

xxxiiij^{li}

Item a watche and Alarum of copper and guilte in a case .

iiij^{li}

Item a riche embroidered Cabinet in coulors .

x^{li}

^a See notes in previous pages.

^b Grave (i.e. *Graf*) Maurice. Probably Prince Maurice of Nassau, who died in 1625.

^c Purled, bordered or trimmed. Halliwell.

Item an Ebony Cabinett inlaied with mother of pearle	xij ^s
Item one cabinett of purple velvett with a chesse boord and men suteable laced with gold lace	x ^{li}
Item one little cabinett of needle worke in a velvett case	xx ^s
Item a longe cushin of purple velvett richlie embrodred with embosted nedle worke of golde silke and some pearles unmade npp, with the Armes of my Lord of Northampton, given by my old ladie of Arundell ^a	v ^{li}
Item another longe cushin of blacke sattin with slippes, flowers, wormes, and flies of needle worke unmade upp	xx ^s
Item a long cushin of white sattin in coulours embrodred with divers p'sons in the middle	l ^s
Item a new white Taffata wastecote embrodred with vine leaves and grapes in mosse worke with golde, silver, and silke	viii ^{li}
Item a newe Taffata wastecote embrodred with the runninge worke of silver with birds and flies in coulours upon white	iii ^{li}
Item another white Holland wastecote embrodred with a runninge work Cop'tm ^{t b} of silke and golde with flowers of leaved silk in coulours	iii ^{li}
Item two verie large sweet bagges embrodred with embosted worke of silver, gold, and coulored silkes, and filled upp with ovals of divers personages, lined both with clowded sattenes blacke the ground white	xv ^{li}
Item another white Taffata wastecote embrodred with running cop'tment of silver threadd and spangles with flowers, flies, and wormes	iii ^{li} x ^s
Item a smaller sweet bagge embrodred with highe embosted mosseworke havinge two sea nymphes upon dolphins and other figures of fowles, edged about with lace of silver and gold, lined with carnation	l ^s
Item a white taffata sweet bagge with coulored flowers in ovals of gold, laced with carnacion	xx ^s
Item one large clothe of silver sweet bagge embrodred with pinched plate of golde lined with russett Taffata	xx ^s
Item one large white satten sweet bagge embrodred with knottes of silver Oes with burninge hartes	xxv ^s
Item one large white satten sweet bagge embrodred with a runninge worke of roses and flowers in silke and golde, lined with a striped silver Grogeran	xxx ^s
Item a carnacion taffata sweet bagge embrodred with a twist of silver on both sides	x ^s
Item a small white satten sweet bagge embrodred with flies wormes and flowers in silke and golde	xx ^s

^a Probably Anne, sister and coheir of George Lord Dacre of Gillesland, wife of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel.

^b Compartment ?

Item one lesser white satten bagge embrodered on bothe sides with golde twiste roses and marigoldes	xvi ^s
Item one small white satten bagge embrodered with flowers and birdes lined with carnacion satten	vi ^s viii ^d
Item one small sweet bagge of Tent work the ground silver with pottes and flowers lined with greene satten	vi ^s viii ^d
Item one carnacion bagge withie starres on both sides	iiij ^s
Item one large damaske bagge of crimson, laced with silver lace round stringes and buttones suteable	xxv ^s
Item one crimson velvett nighte bagge	vi ^s viii ^d
Imprimis one bunch of a chaine lace in Esses of blacke silke and silver of 100 yardes	xxv ^s vi ^d Lowe Ward-
Item 15 ounces of silver lace	xxx ^s robe.
Item another of brode parchement ^a lace of russet silke and silver of 50 yardes	xx ^s
Item a newe purple robe of <i>St. Georges</i>	x ^{li}
Item another olde crimson robe without the kirtell	viii ^{li}
Item a purple mantell	iiij ^{li}
Item a carnacion carpett imbrodred over with embosted worke of golde w th flowers suteable to the chaire in the wardrobe	vi ^{li}
Item a bagge of embrodered flowers	xl ^s
Item sixe nighte cappes of silver silke & golde	xl ^s
Item 13 yeades and a quarter of purple golde velvett <i>China</i> with flower de luces and diamond worke	viii ^{li} xiii ^s iiij ^d
Item a canopie of rich clothe of Tissue upon purple silke with valance suteable to the same and a rich call fringe of silver and golde and orange Tawney silke frindge, a back to the canopie of silke clothe of tissue suteable to the tester of the bed & two curtanes of yealowe damaske laced and buttoned with silver and gold	xxvi ^{li} xiii ^s iiij ^d
Item a bagge of 13 score and 15 yeades of old russett silke and silver lace	iiii ^{li} x ^s
Item a bolte of unshorne velvett newe of 15 yeades at 15 ^s the yearde	xi ^{li} v ^s
Item 15 yeades of blacke wroughte velvett at 14 ^s the yearde	xi ^{li} v ^s
Item a watchett gold tinsell grogeran bagge embrodered with leaves and flowers of gold in a runninge worke	xxv ^s
Item a white satten bagge imbrodred with a wreath of gold and greene silke leaves with burninge heartes roses and other flowers bothe sides alike	l ^s
Item a large sweet bagge of white satten imbrodred with birdes beastes and flowers in silke and golde lined with carnacion satten	l ^s
Item an orange tawney nighte bagge imbrodred with silver piramides and flowers both sides alike	xxxiiij ^s iiij ^d
Item a large carnacion sweet bagge imbrodred with pellicanes butterflies and flowers and lined with carnacion satten	lv ^s

^a As to Parchment Lace, see Mrs. Palliser's *History of Lace*, 1865, p. 68.

Item a Taffata sweet bagge with wreathes of pinched plate and butterflies lined with taffata of the same coulor	xv ^s
Item a square carpett of course carnacion frenche velvett with a pellicane of golde in the midst wrought on with cheine worke and lined with yelow taffata . . .	v ^{li}
Item a <i>China</i> striped quilte of beastes and Antiques the ground white callico frindged about with a strawe coulored frindge	v ^{li}
Item another <i>China</i> quilte stiched in chequer worke with ycalowe silke the grownde white	iiij ^{li}
Item one scarlett cloke lined with crimson satten	iiij ^{li}
Item a <i>China</i> quilte stayned and spotted in coulors	iiij ^{li}
Item a longe cushin of white sattin imbodered with a compartement worke of slippes & golde	iiij ^{li}
Item a carpet and cupboord clothe of purple velvett with silver and silke frindge belonging to the bed where my Lord died	v ^{li}
Item the skirt of a gowne of clothe of siluer in which my ladie of Hertford ^a was married	v ^{li}
Item a <i>China</i> carpett of severall coulors the grounde white and weaved in with Antiques of severall colors lined with watchett Taffata	iiij ^{li}
Item nyne yeades a quarter and a half of blacke riche plushe	vi ^{li} xv ^s
Item the lyninge of 2 large clokcs of purple sattin tissued siluer and gold with 3 Remnants of a paire of breeches	xx ^{li}
Item 2 old Curtenes of greene damaske spotted with spangle starres	xx ^s
Item 2 taffata pinke coulored pillowes	xvi ^s
Item a square table of orientall stone inlaied	iiij ^{li} x ^s
Item a picture of <i>Lewes</i> the thirteenth at large: <i>Fr: Kinge</i>	xx ^s
Item two pictures at large, the one of the French Queen, the other of an Italian	xl ^s
Item one paire of great old Andrones, one paire of new andrones, two fire shovels and two paire of tonges	x ^s
Item an emptie cabinet large on 6 fecte	xv ^s
Item two little Tables	vi ^s
Item a great crimson velvett chaire and three crimson velvett stooles suteable to the old crimson velvett beds in the wardrobe	xl ^s
Item a purple bedstead belonging to the rich purple velvett bed, the bedstead painted with golde	iiij ^{li}
Item a large frame for a chaire, two highe stooles, two lowe stooles, and a foote stoole suteable to the bedstead	l ^s
Item one Table suteable and a court cupboord	iiij ^{li}
Item the frames of a highe chaire 2 highe stooles and two scrowle chaires of purple and golde painted in workes	lv ^s
Item another court cupboord of walnutt tree inlaied	xv ^s
Item a verie large bedstead with wreathed pillars ballasters for head side and fecte, all coulored blacke and gold	vij ^{li}

^a See ante.

Imprimis 300 ^{li} quart. di. w th weight of pewter vessel.	v ^l	Kitchen.
Item one great brasse panne, 2 lesser brasse pannes, 2 skilletts, a fryinge panne, 2 broches, two dripping pannes, 2 spittes, 6 paires of rackes, a scummer, and an old brass potte	xviij ^s	
Imprimis one halfe headed bedstead, one livery featherbed with bolster, a paire of blankettes, one rugge, and one small Table in <i>Mr. Ashburnham's</i> Chamber	iiij ^{li}	Gentlemen's Chambers.
Item in <i>Mr. Gent's</i> chamber, one half headed liverie bedstead, a feather bed, a bolster, a paire of blankettes, one rugge, one small table, one stoole	iiij ^{li}	
Item in <i>Mr. Jud and Mr. Jermynes</i> chamber the like as in the rest, with one stoole and wantinge a bed stead	iiij ^{li}	
Item in <i>Mr. Cole</i> his chamber one bed stead, two fether beds, a bowlster, a paire of blankettes, one greene rugge, one table, and one stoole	iiij ^{li} xv ^s	
Item in <i>Mr. Lewes</i> his chamber a livery bed stead, a feather bed and bolster, a paire of blankettes, a rugge, two stooles, & a table	iiij ^{li}	
Item in <i>William Foxe</i> his chamber a livery bedstead, a featherbed, a bolster, a paire of blankettes and a rugge	iiij ^{li}	
Item in the <i>Footemens</i> chamber as in <i>William Foxe</i> his chamber	iiij ^{li}	
Item in <i>Mr. Griffith^a</i> his chamber two featherbeds and two bolsters	iiij ^{li}	
Item in <i>Mr. Savage</i> his chamber one livery bedstead, one featherbed, one bolster, a paier of blankettes, a rugge, one table, and one stoole of clothie	iiij ^{li}	
Item in <i>Mr. Heydon</i> his chamber one feather bed, one bolster, a paire of blankettes, a rugge, a Table, and a stoole	iiij ^{li}	
Item in <i>Mr. Hodder</i> his chamber a livery bedstead, one feather bed, a paire of blankettes, one rugg, a table, two stooles and one bolster	iiij ^{li}	
Item in <i>Mr. Willowes</i> his chamber one bedstead, a feather bed, bolster, a paire of blankettes, a rugge, a Table, and one russett stoole	iiij ^{li}	
Item in <i>Mr. Harrys</i> his chamber a livery bedstead, one featherbed, one bolster, a paire of blankettes, a rugge, and a Table	iiij ^{li}	
Item in the <i>Gardner's</i> chamber a bed, a bolster, a paire of blankettes and a rugge	xl ^s	
Item in <i>Sam: Fische</i> his chamber one bed, one bolster, a blankett and one rugge	xl ^s	
Item in <i>Mr. Jaggards</i> chamber two beds, two bolsters, a blankett and one rugge	iiij ^{li}	
Imprimis one gowne of russet velvett lined with unshorne velvett of the same coulour buttoned and laced with two laces of russett silke & silver	xiiij ^{li}	Wardrobe.
Item another gowne of blacke wroughte velvett in slippes and flowers, the sleeves laced		This solde by consent and Mr Griffiths accomptable for.

^a John Griffith was the Earl's secretary, and, together with William Byng and Robert Cole, an executor of his will. At the end of the epitaph on the Earl's monument, now in the chapel of Trinity Hospital, Greenwich, is the sentence, "Johanne Griffitho, huic comiti ab epistolis, curante positum." See Dugd. *Baronage* and Hasted, *Kent*, i. 31. All the gentlemen and others named here will be found as legatees in the schedule to the will, *post*.

	overtwhart and round about with two open laces of blacke silke lined with blacke unshorne velvett	x ^{li}
	Item an olde blacke wroughte velvett gowne with one blacke silke lace lined with blacke unshorne velvett	vi ^{li}
	Item a plaine blacke velvett cloke lined with sabels, the backe parte muche worne	xxx ^{li}
	Item a blacke velvett cloke with a piramides worke of laced knottes and lined throwghe with blacke plushe	vii ^{li}
	Item a blacke Taffata cloke with fowre blacke satten laces imbrodered with roses and with blacke Tabine	viii ^{li}
	Item a blacke cloke of uncutt velvett raced ^a with workes and lined with blacke satten lace laid heringe bone wise and lined with blacke pincked sattin	xvj ^{li}
	Item one blacke Taffata cloke, garded with 9 blacke Taffata weltes, laced and lined with plaine blacke velvett	vii ^{li}
	Item one blacke clothe cloke laced about with 15 small laces and lined with blacke unshorne velvett	vij ^{li}
	Item a russett cloke of uncutt velvett raced about with flowers lined with russett sattin raced	x ^{li}
	Item one blacke cloke of uncutt velvett raced about with workes and lined with blacke sattin raced in flowers and knottes	x ^{li}
	Item a blacke velvett cloke laced billete ^b and lined with black taffata pincked	vij ^{li}
	Item a plaine blacke clothe cloke lined with blacke velvett	vij ^{li}
	Item an olde curle cloke laced with 2 bias laces and lined with a small billettie cutt of taffata	xl ^s
	Item an old blacke clothe cloke laced with 2 laces of twistinge knottes and lined with Tabine	iiij ^{li}
	Item a blacke silke curled cloke laid about with a frindged lace in worke and lined with blacke Tabine	xx ^s
	Item a short Duch blacke velvett cloke with sleeves laid almost all over with a blacke sattin lace in a worke lined with blacke pincked sattin	xl ^s
	Item a Spanishe blacke velvett cloke imbrodred all over with bugles and lined with blacke sattin pincked and raced	iiij ^{li}
	Item a blacke silke grogeron ierkin cutt and laced with satten lace billettwise lined with plain blacke taffata	xl ^s
Doublettes.	Item one white satten doublett laced all over with an open silver lace heringe bone wise the sattin cutt betwene	xl ^s
	Item a white satten doublett laced all over with a small golde lace billettwise and cutt betwene	ls
	Item one sute of white satten with purple silke and gold lace bias wise with a standinge cattes toothes cuttes betwene	xiiij ^{li}

^a Raced, pricked or marked.^b See *ante*.

Item an old white satten doublett laced all over with a small silver lace in a worke raced and cutt betweene	xl ^s
Item a white sattin dublett unlaced cutt and raced with flowers and silver buttons and one silke grogeron dublett laced all over with a white sattin lace cutt and ravelled betweene	xx ^s
Item a sute of white sattin cut and raced all over	iii ^{li} x ^s
Item one paier of blacke clothe of silver hose branched with pains ^a imbrodered with silver upon blacke uncutt velvett	Breeches. xv ^{li}
Item a paire of rounde hose paned in a worke suteable to the third cloke	iiij ^{li}
Item a paire of blacke satten hose the panes imbroderd suteable to the fowerth cloke Item a paire of newe blacke satten paned hose raced and cutt laced with sattin lace and imbrodered betweene	iiij ^{li}
Item a paire of newe russett Taffata hose cutt and laced downe thicke with an open russett silke lace	xl ^s
Item a paire of newe russett sattin hose raced and cutt with sattin lace imbrodred betweene	iiij ^{li}
Item a paire of russett Taffata hose with panes thicke laced and cutt with russet lace	xl ^s
Item a paire of russett sattin hose pincked and cutt, the panes laid with russett lace in Esses	xx ^s
Item a paire of russett sattin hose cut pincked and raced with panes of russet sattin billeted laced	xl ^s
Item a paire of blacke sattin hose cutt and raced with panes made of faire black satten lace	xl ^s
Item a girdle and a paire of hangers ^b of tawney satten imbrodred with seed pearle great and small, lined with tawney velvett	xxx ^s
Item a girdle and a paire of hangers of blacke sattin richelie embrodered with seede pearle and some faire ragged orient pearle, lined with blacke velvett	xxx ^s
Item a girdle and a paire of hangers of nedle worke of silver and golde and silke and full of strawberries, and powdred with pearle, lined with tawney velvett	xx ^s
Some totall of all the wearinge apparell.	

Lynnen late in Mr. Jaggardes custody.

Imprimis 5 old square table clothes	viii ^a Table Clothes.
Item 3 large diaper table clothes at 12 ^s a piece	xxxvi ^s
Item 3 short diaper table clothes at 8 ^s a piece	xxiv ^s
Item one fine table clothe beinge 6 yeardes in lengthe	xx ^s

^a Fringed or paned. Pane, a division, side, or piece.^b Hang or hanger; the loop or strap appended to the girdle in which the dagger or small sword hung.

Cupboord Clothes.	Item 3 square cupboard clothes of diaper	xxi ^s
	Item three lesser of diaper	xviii ^s
Towels of Diaper and other clothe.	Item 6 diaper towels of 4 yeardes in lengthe a piece at iiij ^s the towell	xviii ^s
	Item two large towels of sixe yeardes in lengthe a piece valued at iiij ^s	viii ^s
	Item one small towell valued at	xviii ^d
	Item two towels of holland at 20 ^d the piece	iii ^s iiij ^d
Lynnen.	Item 5 dozen and ten diaper napkins of the finer sorte, valued at viii ^s the dozen	xlvi ^s viii ^d
	Item sixe dozen of course sorte valued at vi ^s the dozen	xxxvi ^s
Napkins.	Item foure dozen of the finest flaxen napkins at v ^s the dozen	xx ^s
	Item 9 dozen and five of courser at 3 ^s the dozen	xxviii ^s iiij ^d
	Item a dozen and a half of old ones -	iiij ^s
Sheetes and Blanquettes.	Item 8 paire of newe livery holland sheetes valued at xiii ^s iiij ^d the pare	v ^{li} vi ^s viiiij ^d
	Item 20 paire of old liverie sheetes at vi ^s viii ^d the paire	vi ^{li} xiii ^s iiij ^d
	Item ten paire of course sheetes at v ^s the paire . . . . .	]^s
	Item 4 paire of newe holland sheetes of 2 breadthes and a half at 24 ^s the paire	iiij ^{li} xvi ^s
	Item one paire of two breadthies at	xv ^s
	Item two paire of holland sheetes	xvi ^s
	Item 28 paire of livery sheetes at v ^s the paire	vij ^{li}
Bandes.	Item 3 fustian blankettes of 4 breadthies at 5 ^s the peece	xv ^s
	Item 16 ruffe Cambricke bandes at v ^s the piece	iiij ^{li}
Lynnen Shirtes.	Item a couple of verie fine holland shirtes with an open lace at 30 ^s a piece	iiij ^{li}
	Item 12 other plaine shirtes of holland at x ^s a piece	vi ^{li}
Pillow beeres.	Imprimis a paire of plaine holland pillowbeeres ^a at v ^s a paire	x ^s
	Item two paire of blacke wroughte pillowbeeres	xl ^s
	Item one paire wrought in coulors silke and golde	xiiij ^s iiij ^d
	Item another paire of pillowbeeres in slippes of roses faire silke and gold	xxxv ^s
	Item a paire never made upp wrought with beastes and flowers silke and golde	xl ^s
	Item another paire imbrodered with water lilly leaves, kinges fishers and other birds and flowers silk and gold	xlvi ^s
	Item another paire imbrodered with a runninge worke of pomgranets grapes and roses silke and golde	xl ^s
	Item a paire imbrodered with roses and other flowers in coulors silke and golde and a gold lace	xl ^s
	Item another paire with a traile worke of sundrie flowers, strawberyes and piuckles	xl ^s

^a Pillow beere, a pillow-case.

Item a cloth for a coveringe basquett	xvi ^s
Item one white satten sweet bagge inbrodered with golde and silke in coulors	xxx ^s

Some of the lynnens and
other thinges in Mr.
Jaggarde his custodie } lxxij^{li} xv^s
ij^d

AN INVENTORY OF ALL MY LORD PRIVY SEALE HIS HOWSHOLD STUFFE AT GRENEWICHE.

At the Lodge in the Parke.

Vpper storye.

Imprimis two pieces of leather hanginges azure and golde	vii ^{li}	Pallatte Chamber.
Item two pieces of the same hanginges	viii ^{li}	Bedchamber.
Item one half headed bedstead with a canopie of crimson damaske laced and frindged with golde 7 guilte cuppes with the traine or two curtens of crimson damaske with loopes of golde and crimson silke unlaced. A quilte of crimson taffata one fustian blankett and downe bed a bolster and feather bed and one quilte or wool bed	xxv ^{li}	
Item one large chaire with two stooles and one longe cushin laced with redd taffata of crimson damaske frindged with silke and golde with redd cotton covers and about the bed a spanishe carpet	viii ^{li}	
Item one little walnutt tree Table and carpet	xiii ^s iij ^d	
Item one courte cupboard	viii ^s	
Item one curten of greene and striped buffin lined with greene saye	xv ^s	
Item two pieces of Azure and gold leather hanginges and one curten of greene striped buffin lined with greene saye	v ^{li} x ^s	Closet.
Item five pieces of quilte leather hanginges crimson and golde and a wallnutt tree cupboard	x ^{li}	Gallery.

Middle story.

Item one curten of striped buffin lined with greene saye	xii ^s	Utter Chamber.
Imprimis 3 pieces of gilte leather hanginges azure and gold and 3 old striped curtens unlined	viii ^{li} x ^s	Great Chamber.
Item one foote Turky carpet two square cupboard carpettes of Turkie worke	v ^{li}	

	Item one large chaire of crimson velvett with 6 stooles and a longe cushion with silke frindge suteable	vii ^{li}
	Item one foldinge walnutte table and one court ^a cupboard	xx ^s
Withdrawing Chamber.	Imprimis two pieces of guilte leather hanginges vert and orre ^b one greene velvet chare and 2 stooles frindged with greene silke frindge with olde covers of greene	ix ^{li} x ^s
	Item one small foote Turkie carpett, 2 old striped curtens, and one court cupboard	xl ^s
	Item one crimson velvett carpett laced and frindged with silk and silver	xx ^s
Wardrobe.	Imprimis two pieces of gilte leather hanginges silver and golde with 3 or 4 remnantes of gilte leather hanginges	v ^{li}
	Item two paire of bellows inlaid with mother of pearle	xxx ^s
	Item one sunne diall for a garden faire cutt in stone with manie dials in it	x ^s
	Item one presse and one lowe table of deale to be left in the howse	

Lowest Roome.

Hall.	Imprimis one longe table and a forme of deale	x ^s
Servantes Chambers.	Imprimis one livery bedstead, two feather beds and two bolsters, a paire of blankettes, and a rugge with one table of deale and one stoole Mr. Willm Foxe his chamber	v ^{li} x ^s
	Item in Mr. Gent's chamber one livery bedstead, one feather bed and bowlster, a paire of blankettes and one white rugge, and a little table of deale	iiij ^{li} x ^s
	Item in Mr. Westcombe's chamber one livery bedstead with fether bed and bolster, one pair of blankettes, one deale table and one stoole	iiij ^{li} x ^s
	Item one livery bedstead with feather bed and bolster, a paire of blankettes, a greene rugge and a table in Mr. Hikes his chamber	iiij ^{li} xv ^s

Courte Lodginge.

Gallery.	Imprimis five peeces of Tapestry hanginges whereof one is cutt in two, of the storic of Solomon, and one traverse ^c of Tapestry of Bacchus his triumphe	xxix ^{li} xii ^s
	Item five eurtens of striped buffin unlined of crimson and greene	xx ^s
	Item one chaire one longe cushion two highe stooles of clothe of golde with russett and yelowe frindge	l ^s
	Item one lowe stoole of clothe of silver in coulors the grounde white	v ^s

^a Court cupboard, a moveable sideboard used for the display of plate.^b Vert and or; from this and other heraldical terms in this Inventory, it would seem to have been compiled by a Herald.^c Traverse, a portable screen.

Item one walnuttree cupboard	x ^s	
Imprimis 5 little pieces of Tapistrie hangings	xiiij ^{li} xvi ^s	Bed Chamber.
Item two windowe curtens of striped buffin lined with crimson bayes and one Spanishe, and a little olde Turkey carpett	xxij ^s viii ^d	
Item one field bedstead with tester and valance of cloth of gold striped with crimson, and a deepe crimson frindge, 5 crimson taffata curtens, one crimson taffata quilte lined with blewe callicoe, a downe bed and bowlster, two feather beds, and one pillowe	xviii ^{li}	
Item one chaire a longe cushion and two lowe stooles suteable to the teaster of the bed and valance	xxxv ^s	
Item one little foldinge Table and one courte cupboard	xxx ^s	
Imprimis one livery bedstead the head inlayed, one feather bed and bowlster, two paire of blankettes, a greene rugge and one Table and stoole, in Mr. <i>Grijithes</i> chamber	iiij ^{li} v ^s	Gentlemen's Chambers.
Item in Mr. <i>Ashburnham</i> his chamber a livery bedstead, a feather bed and bowlster, a blankett, one redd rugge, and a little table	iiij ^{li} v ^s	
Item in Mr. <i>Binges</i> chamber a liverie bedstead, a feather bed and bowlster, a paire of blanketts and a greene rugge	iiij ^{li} v ^s	
Item in Mr. <i>Savage</i> his chamber a liverie bedstead, a feather bed and bolster, one blankett and a checquer rugge	iiij ^{li}	
Item a square Table	iiij ^s	Utter Chamber.
Item a feather bed and bowlster, and the rest of the furniture verie old	xx ^s	Stable.

Lower Howse.

Imprimis 3 pieces of Bruxils hangings of the storie of <i>David</i> , lined throughe, the border garnished with naked boys and Antiques	xxix ^{li}	Great Chamber.
Item 3 curtens of branched stuffe tawney and greene	xxx ^s	
Item one chaire, a longe cushin and two lowe stooles of branched clothe of silver, the ground blacke tasseled and frindged with blacke silke and silver, the frame painted with silver and blacke	ix ^{li}	
Item 12 stooles of Turkie worke billeted red white and blue with cruell ^a frindge	xlviij ^s	
Item one small paire of brasse andirons and a courte cupboard of walnuttree	xxx ^s	
Item a picture of Marie Magdalen, a picture of an Italian curtezan, and a Mackarell, ^b one of a gentlewoman in white, and another of Duche Cookes maid and her kitchen.		Lo. Suff.
Item 3 pieces of Bruxels hangings of the same storie and border as in the great chamber	xxv ^{li} xiii ^s iiij ^d	

^a Cruell, fine worsted.^b Fr. *Macquereau*.

	Item 3 curtens of striped stuffe of greene blew white and bloome coulour	xxv ^s
	Item one chaire and two lowe stooles of striped clothe of silver frindged with yelow and silver frindge	xl ^s
	Item one longe cushin of clothe of silver powdered and tufted with Frenche greene and golde, lined with chaungeable taffata, frindged and tasseled with blacke silke and silver	xx ^s
	Item one scrowle chaire of clothe of silver branched with Tawney with silver and Tawney frindge	xvi ^s
La. Berkley.	Item one picture of the ladie <i>Berkley</i> .	
Bed Chamber.	Item fower pieces of imagerie Bruxels hanginges quarter lined, the borders with birdes and emptie ovalles	lxxij ^{li}
Sold to my lo. of Somersett.	Item one blacke field bedstead painted with flowers and powdred with golde, with the Armes of my Lord of Northampton upon the head, 8 cuppes suteable. The tester and valence powdered with blewe starres and spangles and slippes of severall couleurs and billeted, with 5 curtens suteable to the tester. A quilte of poppingey ^a greene sarcenett lined with blewe calicoe stitched with blacke silke	xl ^{li}
	Item one downe bolster and three feather beds and a paire of fustian blankettes	ix ^{li}
	Item a longe cushin two highe chaires one scrowle chaire a lowe chaire a foote stoole suteable to the bed savinge the frame, and two highe stooles all cased	xiiij ^{li}
	Item one lowe stoole of watchett cloth of silver with watchett flower De luces	v ^s
	Item a skreene of greene branched damaske 3 curtens of blewe and yelow taffata striped blewe and yelow	iiij ^{li} x ^s
	Item a court cupboord of walnutt tree, a square table of deale	xiiij ^s
	Item a paire of Crepers fireshovell and tonges suteable	xx ^s
	Item a chamber watche with an Alarum	
Gallery.	Imprimis 5 curtens suteable to those in the cross chamber, sixe crimson velvet stooles with cases suteable	vj ^{li}
Sr Ro. Cotton.	Item a picture at large of Prince Henry on horsebacke in armes ^b	iiij ^{li}
Mr H. Howarde.	Item 14 Venetian pictures of one bignes	
	Item Colman's ^c Arbour Royall or Genealogie of the Kinge and Queene, and Speede's large mapp of <i>England Scotland and Ireland</i>	xii ^s

^a Poppingey, popinjay, a parrot.

^b A picture at large of Prince Henry on horseback in arms. This picture is not at present known to exist.

^c Coleman's *Arbour Royal, or Genealogie of the King and Queene*. This work is described by Moule, in his *Bibliotheca Heraldica*, p. 65. It was comprised in 10 sheets, and contained "all the arms of the Matches" cut in wood; and in the border "The Arms and Matches of all the Nobility of England." It was published in large quarto in 1608 by Morgan Colman.

Imprimis fower pieces of Bruxels hanginges unlined, whereof one is suteable to those in the great chamber, the other three of imagerie suteable to the former in fineness of stuffe	Winter Dyn- ning Chamber	xlii
Item one curten of striped taffata of purple ashe coulour and yelow &c		xx ^s
Item one highe chaire, two highe stooles, two lowe stooles of wroughte purple velvet suteable		liij ^{li}
Item one lowe stoole of blacke velvett imbrodered with a rowe of slippes of silver		x ^s
Item one longe cushin of purple cloth of silver lined with purple taffitie frindged and tasseled with russett silke and silver		xv ^s
Item eight highe stooles of tawney velvett with cases		liij ^s iiiij ^d
Item a court cupboard of walnuttree and a square table of walnuttree		xvi ^s
Item a paire of tables of Ebony inlaied with Ivorie and men suteable		v ^s Mr Cole
Item a nighte piece of the whipping of Christe		xx ^s Mr Griff
Item a large fire shovell and tonges suteable, with 2 creepers, twelve small square Turkey carpettes ^{10li} , two longe foote carpette ^{7li} , and one square Persian carpett ^{2li}		vi ^s xxx ^{li}
Imprimis three pieces of Tapistrie imagerie hanginges lined and two unlined, the stuff indifferent	Bed Chamber.	xxij ^{li} vi ^s viii ^d
Item a crimson velvett bed thicke imbrodered with gold twiste in flowers and spangles, double valanced with silke and cowled with golde, the bed head suteable, and the inside of the valance, five damaske crimson curtens laced and buttoned with golde, a bed stead of white varnish and golde with white coptement, three feather beds, one bowlster, one crimson taffata quilte lined with crimson callicoe, with cappes and feathers suteable, one highe chaire of crimson velvett with 2 highe stooles, the frames of gold and redd, laced as the curtens with cases		lv ^{li}
Item a longe cushin laced with damaske and one curten of striped coulored taffata		ij ^{li}
Item two carpettes of crimson velvett frindged suteable to the valance		xiiij ^{li}
Item a fire shovell tonges and creepers		ij ^s
Item a table of walnuttree and a corte cupboard of wainscott		xiiij ^s iiiij ^d
Item two pieces of hanginges suteable to those in the bed chamber		xli ^{li} viii ^s Study.
Item a curten suteable to that within.		
Item a walnuttree table and two highe stooles of old clothe of silver		xxvi ^s viii ^d
Item one large Persian Carpett		xvij ^{li} Wardrobe.
Item a greene carpett of verdure Tapestry		xiii ^s
Item a longe cushin of needleworke with slippes of roses		xxvi ^s viii ^d
Item 3 curtens of striped stuffe in coulours		xx ^s
Item a foldinge Indian screne		iii ^s iiiij ^d
Item two livery feather beds ten bowlsters and an old downe pillowe		x ^{li}
Item a double picture with the 3 kinges on one side		v ^s

Hall.	Item one square table and fower formes of wainscott	xx ^s
Parlor.	Item a border of gilte leather beinge Spanish hanginges, a wainscott draweing Table and cupboord, and fower highe stooles of Turkie worke	xl ^s
Kitchen.	Imprimis two broches, a paire of rackes, a drippinge panne, a spice mortar, two skillettes, a brasse panne, and a kettle	xv ^s
Gentlemen's Chamber.	Imprimis in Mr. Jaggardes chamber, one livery bedstead, a feather bed and bolster, 2 blanketts an old taffata quilte and a square Table	iiij ^{li}
	Item in Capten Harris his Chamber a livery bedstead, bed and bolster, a blankett and one greene rugge	l ^s
	Item in Mr Heydon his chamber one livery bedstead, bed and bolster, two blankettes, one greene rugge and a livery Table	iii ^{li}
	Item in Mr Jeremyes chamber a livery bedstead, bed and bolster, two blankettes, a rugge and a Table	iiij ^{li}
	Item in Mr Willowes his chamber, a feather bed and bolster, a blankett, a rugge, and two old russett clothe stooles	l ^s
	Item in the Cookes chamber a livery bedstead bed and bolster, a blanckett and a Rugge	iiij ^{li}
	Item in Mr Windhams chamber a livery bedstead, one feather bed, one bolster, two blankettes, one greene rugge, and one livery Table	iiij ^{li}

ADDENDUM.—It is believed that the Will of Henry Earl of Northampton, the possessor of the great store of jewels and household goods included in this Inventory, has never been printed. As it appears to be a document of some interest, independently of that which it has in connection with the Inventory, it has been thought desirable to print it here, by way of appendix to Mr. Shirley's Communication.—C. S. P.

WILL OF HENRY EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.

IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY INDIVISIBLE AND GLORIOUS TRINITIE THREE PERSONS AND ONE GOD. AMEN. The fourteenth daye of June in the yere of oure Lord God one thowsand sixe hundred and fourteene, and in the twelveth yere of the raigne of oure most gracious Sovereaigne Lorde James, by the grace of God of England Scotland Fraunce and Irelande Kynge, Defender of the faith, of England France and Ireland the twelveth, and of Scotland the seaven and fortithe, I, Henry Earl of Northampton, Baron of Warnehill, Lord Privie Seale, Lord Warden of the Cinque Portes, Knighte of the moste noble Order of the Garter, Chancellor of the Universitie of Cambridge, and one of the Kinges Majesties most honorable Privie Councell, beyng weake in bodye, but stronge in mynde and of good memorye, do make and ordayne my last will and testament as foloweth: First, I do acknowledge that noe Symmer hath ben more bounde then my selfe to Almighty God for his gracious providence in delivering me many and sondrye tymes from the most subtile and entrapping combinacions and practises of myne enemyes, but *quid retribuam?* only my soule in steadfast faith into his blessed handes that gave yt, trusting to be saved only by the merittes of the bitter passion of oure sweete Savyoure, and protesting that I dye a true constant Servaunte of his, and a member of the Catholicke and Apostolike church, saying with Saint Jerome, *In qua fide puer natus fui in eadem senex morior.* My bodye I appoynte to be buried in the auncient Chappell within the Castle of Dover, and a Tombe there to be made for me at the chardge and discretion of myne exeutors.^a I recognize with all loyalnes of my harte the exceeding and extraordinarye love, favoure, and bonnty of my most deere and gracious Sovereaigne, whome I have founde ever so constant to me his unworthie servaunte as noe devises of myne enemyes coulde euer drawe or divide his goodnes from me. I have nothing to present worthie his Majestie but the straynes and prayers from a loyal harte that his dayes may be longe and happie and his seede endure to the worldes end. I most humblie beseeche his excellent Majestie to accept, as a poore remembraunce of me his faithfull servaunt, a Cup of gould of one hundred poundes valewe with one hundred *Jacobine* peeces of Twentie-two shillings a peece therein, on which Cupp my desire is there should be this inscription: *Detur dignissimo.* To the most noble and hopeful Prince Charles I give my best George.^b To my most deere and entirelie beloved neiphue the Earle of Suffolk I give my Jewel of the three stones,^c one of them beyng that Rubie which his excellent Majestie sent me out of Scotland as his first token, which Jewell I cannot better repose with any then with hym that is soe faithfull and trustie to his Maiestie as my saied neiphue ys. And I give hym allso a Crosse of dyemondes geven me by my Ladye my

^a He was accordingly so buried; but in 1696, the old chapel becoming ruinous, the Mercers' Company piously removed the Earl's body and the monument which had been placed over it to the chapel of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity at Greenwich, of which he was founder.

^b See Inventory among "Georges."

^c See Inventory among "Jewels," where the marginal note occurs, "Bequeathed by will to the Lord Treasurer."

Mother. And I hartely entreate my sayed Neiphue to give his Countenaunce and furtherance to myne executors in performance and execution of my will. Item I give to my very good Lorde the Earle of Somersett my second George.^a To my Neiphue the Lord William,^b the somme of twoe thowsand poundes to be payed in convenyent tyme after my debtes by myne executors, which twoe thowsand poundes is with the leaste I confesse seyng I hould there is some equyte I should remember hym in respect of Clunn intended by his father unto hym and nowe come to my handes. Item I give the Suite of newe dressed hanginges which were my Lord Barkeleyes to the nowe Lord Barkeley " my ward. Item I give to John Southerwoode an Annuitye or Rente Chardge of twentie poundes with Clause and power of distresse for the same out of the Leased landes which I boughte at Greenewiche of the executors of the late Earle of Salisbury; To hould to the said Sowtherwood for terme of his life: And fortie poundes yerelie out of the same during the life of James Symondes I give to the sayed James Symondes with power allso to distrayne in the sayed Landes for the same as yt shalbe behinde and unpaid. Item I require myne executors with the overplus of Sedgeley more then myne owne fyve hundred poundes to paye debtes of Sr Robert Dudleyes, as first Five hundred poundes to Mr^s Fitch and the rest as myne executors shall thinke meete and finde cause. Item I give to the poore of the parishe of S^t Martyns in the feildes in the Countye of Middlesex twentie poundes. I do desire myne honorable and my loving freindes to pardon me that I doe not by particular Legaceyis shewe my last love and affection to them as I would desire, for that my debtes are greate and my servaunts many to be remembred and the chardge of my Hospitalls hathe spent me muche. And whereas I have made provision by a Lease to myne executors for tenne yeres after my decease and by a graunte of all my Jewells, goodes, and other thinges in that Lease expressed to them also made for payment of my Debtes and Legaceyis and other thinges expressed in the same Lease, I will that myne executors shall yerelie uppon the next daye after Saint Andrewes daye at Northampton Howse exhibit and declare a true Accompte unto the Overseers of my Will of their Receiptes and paymentes, and shalbe advised and directed by my said Overseers in the affayres of my Will. And I chardge them especiallie to have a care that they procure the Hospitalls at Rysing and Greenwich which I have begunne to be founded and incorporated. And those twoe and the Hospitall at Clunn to be finished and endowed, that is to saye, the Hospitall of Clunn to be endowed with the free Rentes of the Rectoryes of Clunn and Bishopps Castle, beyng Fee-farm Rentes, and with the Rectories of Knighton and Church Stoke, which I will shalbe conveyed to that Hospitall by myne heire. The Hospitall at Greenwich, after yt is founded and incorporated, I will to be endowed by myne heire with the Ferme of Lowells and other thinges in Kent by me purchased in the name of Sr Edward Barret and Mr Fraunces More, and allso with the landes in Leigh Banckers and Shrofeilde purchased by me from his Majestie, and with the Messuages and gardens in Saint Martyns parishe

^a See Inventory among "Georges."

^b Lord William Howard was second son of Thomas fourth Duke of Norfolk, brother of the testator, by Mary daughter and eventual heir of Henry FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel.

^c George Lord Berkeley, great nephew of the testator, being son of Thomas Berkeley who died in the lifetime of his father, Henry Lord Berkeley, who married the Lady Catherine Howard, Lord Northampton's sister.

in the feildes which I latelie purchased of S^r Robert Brett, Michaell Appesley, and Sir Edward Mountague, or any of them. And the saied Hospitall at Rising I will to be endowed by myne heire with a sufficient Rent-charge of one hundred poundes by the yere to be yssuing out of all my Landes in the Countie of Norffolk. And I will myne heires for ever shall have the nominacion, placing, and displacing of the poore of the Hospitall of Rising, And the Companie of Mercers in London of the poore of the Hospitall at Greenewich, yet soe as they choose twelve out of Greenewich and the other eighte out of Shottisham in Norfolk, where I was borne. The overplus at the end of tenne yeres, yf any shall remayne in myne executors handes, I will by the direction of myne overseers to be employed in charitable uses with a Respect that some thinge may be put as a stocke into the treasurye of every of the saied three Hospitalls. The Legaceys in this Schedule annexed I will to be payed and performed by myne executors, John Griffith, William Bing, and Robert Cole, gent. my servauntes. And I appoynte myne overseers my very good Lordes the Earles of Suffolk and Worcester and the Lord William Howard. And I give my Lord of Worcester a peece of plate of twentie poundes to be provided by myne executors. In witnesse whereof I have set my hand and seale to this my last will with this schedule annexed the daye and yere first above written. H. NORTHAMPTON.

THE SCHEDULE.

Item I will that myne executors, for suche interest as I have, shall assigne over the wardshippe of the Lord Barekley to S^r Richard Spencer and M^r Thomas Spencer, his greate uncles, to the use of the sayed Lord Barekley, he paying Fifteene hundred poundes for the same to myne executors, beyng neere abowte the chardges I have ben at concerning the same wardshipp. Item I will that all my meniall servauntes now attending in my house shall, yf they will, remayne and contynewe togeather here in my house at Northampton House and possesse theire severall lodgings and chaumbers and receyve theire ordinarye weekly allowance to be payed by myne executors untill Michaelmas next. And that every gentleman of them shall have twentie nobles and every yeoman fyve markes to buye them blackes, to be payed by myne executors. Item I give to my servaunts the severall legaceys hereafter folowing, to be payed by myne executors within convenient tyme when my debtes shalbe satisfied. To Edward Willis twoe hundred poundes. To Thomas Jermye I forgive his hundred poundes debt and allowe his patent that I procured hym. To Frauncys Windham, John Heydon, Giles Savage, Hngh Cholmeley, every of them one hundred poundes. To William Hodder, Robert Lewis, John Wyn, Thomas Culpepper, John Hiekes, Henry Mildemaye, Edward Gent, Andrewe Judd, Christofer Harris, and Arthur Jenney, to every of them fiftie poundes. To John Jaggard and his wife one hundred poundes. To Panerace Fathers, William Fox, Samuell Fishe, Richard Larder, Peter Webster, and Thomas Scott, to every of them fortie poundes. To Ferdinando Kelley and John Holmes the Taylor, to every of them twentie poundes. To William Dowland and William Bland, to every of them tenne poundes. To William Yeomans and James Foster, to every of them fyve poundes. To Will the kitchinboye fortie shillings. Item I give to every of myne executors fyve hundred markes for their paynes in the affayers of my Will, and will that they have Allowance in their Accompte of the chardges they shalbe

put unto in those buisynes. Item I give to the Chappell of Dover Castle twentie poundes, and to the poore of Dover Towne twentie poundes. Item I give to Thomas Willis tenne poundes.
H. NORTHAMPTON.

[Witnesses] Robert Cotton, Robert Brett, Jo. Amye, Fra. Moore.

Proved in London, 18 June, 1614, by the oaths of John Griffith, William Binge, and Robert Cole, Executors. [Extracted from the Registers of the late Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Lawe, q. 55.]

XVII.—*Notes on the “Bacini,” or Dishes of Enamelled Earthenware, introduced as Ornaments to the Architecture of some of the Churches in Italy, &c. &c.*
By C. DRURY FORTNUM, Esq. F.S.A.

Read Feb. 16th, 1860.^a

ALL writers on the history of pottery have more or less alluded to the *Bacini*, or deep bowl-shaped dishes of various sizes and colours, which are to be seen on the exterior of several churches in different parts of Italy. More particular allusion has been made to those found on the churches of Pisa, and various theories have been raised to account for their origin. It is particularly stated by Sismondi, in the “History of the Italian Republics” (i. 354), that the Pisans made great exertions to rid the Tyrrhenian Sea of the Moorish pirates, which had so often destroyed their vessels and ravaged their coasts. Their efforts were specially directed against a certain King Nazaredeck of Majorca, whose cruel acts of piracy had spread terror in the coast towns of Italy and Southern France. Thousands of Christian captives were said to be rotting in his dungeons, or subjected to all the horrors of an oriental slavery. At length, in the year 1113, the Pisans were further stimulated by an appeal from their archbishop, who preached a crusade against the infidels, for the deliverance of their countrymen and fellow-Christians, and for the glory of the Pisan arms. In August of that year the expedition sailed for the Balearic Isles. Tempests were encountered, and the coast of Catalonia became their winter refuge; but in April of the following year Iviça was reached and captured. Majorca was attacked, the town assaulted, and after a year’s obstinate defence, fell into the hands of the Pisans, about Easter in 1115. The king was killed, his successor made prisoner, and with enormous spoil the Pisans returned triumphant to their native city. As the Moors are believed to have been the great ceramic artists of that age, it is probable that their productions were eagerly sought and highly prized; and it has been supposed^b that a quantity of these precious specimens of the potter’s skill were secured and brought to Pisa by the captors, where they were built into the towers and façades of the churches as memorials of this triumph. It is not improbable that some of the Moorish buildings of Majorca were decorated

^a The publication of this paper has by various circumstances been delayed.

^b Marryat’s “Pottery and Porcelain,” 2nd ed. p. 11.

with enamelled tiles, as we know to have been the case in Spain. The more costly decoration of Mosaic was well known to the Italians, and the use of some of these *bacini* for a similar purpose, to which their brilliant colours admirably adapted them, would naturally suggest itself. It was, moreover, the habit of the period to decorate the buildings (of the Romanesque style) with circular and lozenge-shaped slabs of coloured marble, mosaic, &c. &c. The palaces of Venice, and their own cathedral at Pisa, are examples, and it was therefore merely applying another material to the same end. This mode of ornamentation by medallions, or lozenges, of coloured marble, mosaic, or in brick buildings of enamelled *bacini* or plates, continued in vogue during the subsequent centuries when "Gothic" had superseded the earlier Romanesque and Lombard styles.

The statement of Passeri, that it was the habit in the fourteenth century to decorate the churches with *bacini* of the *fabrique* of Pesaro, may have a foundation in fact, but that it originated at Pesaro, and that these *bacini* were only of the manufacture of that place, is far from probable.

During a sojourn of a few days at Pisa, I took the opportunity of examining carefully the different churches, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the plates inserted were really of Moorish or Italian character, and also, if possible, of procuring some fragments of the plates themselves. The inaccessible sites of these plates rendered the latter a somewhat difficult task, and my application to the church authorities for permission to detach specimens, were (except in one instance) refused. I will now proceed to state the facts I was able to ascertain, and the accompanying diagrams from rough sketches from some of the *bacini*, &c., &c., will serve to illustrate their style.

My first visit was to a remarkable church outside the walls of Pisa, on the old post road to Leghorn. San Pietro in Grado was built according to tradition on the spot where St. Peter first landed in Etruria. The original church was replaced by the present structure, built before the year 1000. It is a Romanesque basilica; the marble columns of the interior are antique, and probably taken from some building of Roman times. A band of very early and much injured fresco paintings, representing events from the life of St. Peter, extends along the sides of the nave above the columns, and at the spring of the arches, immediately over each capital, the artist has painted a circle to represent the *bacini* then in use for external decoration. The exterior, which has been much repaired, has many dishes, especially on the north side, those that formerly existed on the south wall having been injured probably by the action of the sea breeze upon the glaze, and their places bricked up.



Fig. 2.

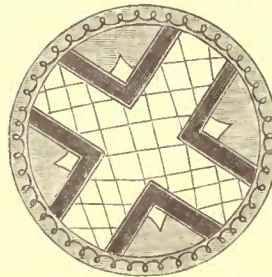


Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

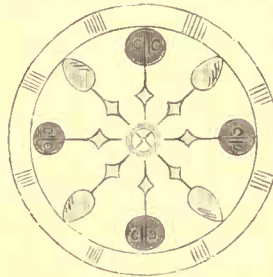


Fig. 6.

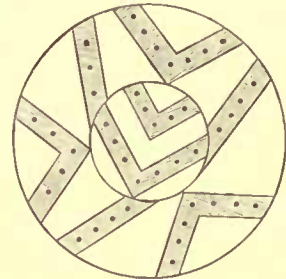


Fig. 7.

AT SAN PIETRO IN GRADO, PISA.

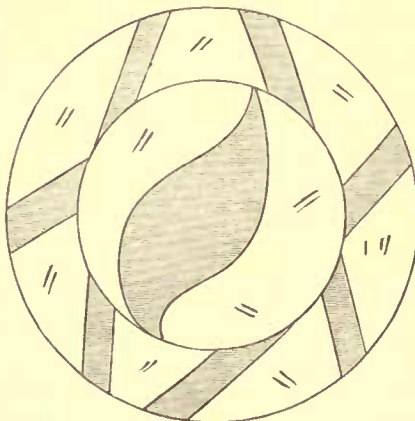


Fig. 8.

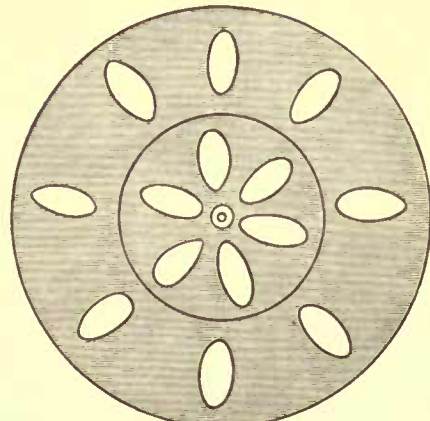


Fig. 9.

AT SAN SISTO, PISA.

Fig. 2. Pale buff ground, bird black outline, marginal pattern brown. Fig. 3. Yellow ground; cross, buff chequered brown, edged blue; four points white; marginal pattern brown. Fig. 4. Pale buff ground, water bouget green, marginal pattern red-brown. Fig. 5. Pale buff ground, ship green. Fig. 6. Whitish ground, circular ends of carbuncle dark blue, leaf-shaped ends red-brown. Fig. 7. Yellow ground, green pattern. Fig. 8. Yellow ground, green pattern. Fig. 9. Green ground, pale buff pattern.

Those along the top of the wall of the north aisle are mostly well preserved. The sketch fig. 1 will give some idea of the way in which these plates, varying

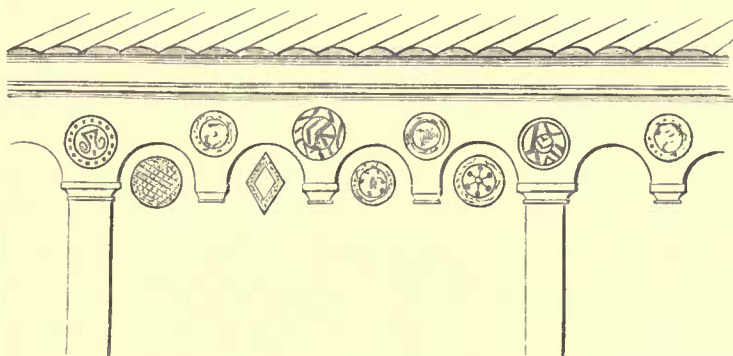


Fig. 1.

UPPER PART OF THE WALL, NORTH AISLE, S. PIETRO IN GRADO, PISA.

in size, are introduced as an ornament to the Romanesque brick architecture. The diagrams figs. 2 to 7, Plate XVIII. are from plates occurring in this frieze. It will be observed that in fig. 2 a bird is rudely represented, in fig. 5 a ship, while fig. 3 is decorated with a cross bordered with blue. Fig. 4 has a Gothic leafage border encircling an object resembling the heraldic charge known as a "water bouget." By borrowing a ladder from a neighbouring farm, and mounting this upon an old table, I contrived to get within reach of two which had been much broken, and succeeded, though not without difficulty from the hardness of the mortar, in detaching some small fragments. They are made of a coarse red earth, hard and heavy, and covered with a white *engobe* under the lead glaze, at once marking their Italian origin.

San Sisto in Pisa had many plates in the façade, the side walls, and the campanile, but they have nearly all fallen out, and their places have been supplied in recent times by *stucco*, painted to represent the *bacini*. Among the real plates remaining I could not discover those illustrated in Mr. Marryat's book, (*History of Pottery and Porcelain*, p. 12, 2nd ed. Murray, 1857,) but the diagrams figs. 8 and 9, Plate XVIII. give an idea of two which still exist; they are clearly Italian. The campanile has some, and I particularly remarked one of a blue turquoise colour of great brilliancy. San Sisto is a favorite saint with the Pisans, many of their memorable victories having been gained on his day (6th August). It was on that day the expedition against the Balearic Islands sailed, and it would be natural to suppose that this church would be one to which some of the Moorish trophies would have been offered, and where some trace of the Moorish dishes might be

found if any had ever been incrustated in the walls. It is in the Romanesque style, begun in the year 1089, but much repaired at subsequent periods.

San Andrea is a small church of Pisan Romanesque, much altered, but on the exterior are many plates which decorate the campanile and the small arched cornice of the side walls. They partake of the same general character of those in the two former churches. Figs. 10 and 11, Plate XIX. show the design of two examples.

San Francesco is a noble Gothic church of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. In the campanile are a few plates. I ascended with a most obliging Frate and was thus enabled to get a very near view of them. Some

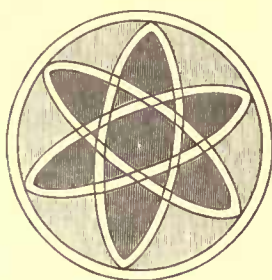


Fig. 12.

ON THE CAMPANILE OF
S. FRANCESCO, PISA.

Yellow ground, blue pattern, bordered
white.

are small bowls with a wide margin, in form not unlike the old barber's basin but without the notch for the neck, of coarse manufacture and of a green colour without pattern; from several the glaze had scaled off, showing the coarse red earth of which they were made: the glaze I believe to be plumbiferous and the manufacture Italian. Some larger ones were painted in patterns, of one of which fig. 12 is a sketch. This church was undergoing repair, but my application to the superior for permission to have one of these plates removed was met by an excuse, and I was afterwards told that in consequence of the very high prices that had been given for *majolica* of late years these

plates are supposed to be of very great value.

San Martino is a mine of these *bacini*, the Gothic arched work under the roof being filled with them round every side except the façade, which is more recent. It is a large and fine Gothic church of the fourteenth century; and the manner of their introduction as well as the style of several of the plates is much the same as that of the façade of San Sisto as figured in Marryat, p. 13 (2nd edition). Two of the *bacini* are figured in Plate XIX. figs. 13 and 14.

The church of Sta. Apollonia has not any, as erroneously stated by Mr. Dawson Turner; he is mistaken also in saying that they are "only to be found in the oldest buildings of the style we in England call Norman." He mentions San Francesco, which is a Gothic church of the thirteenth or fourteenth century; they are still more abundant in San Martino, which is also a Gothic church of the same period.

The small church of Santa Cecilia I noticed quite accidentally, and there found matter of considerable interest. It is Romanesque, but much altered internally;



Fig. 10.

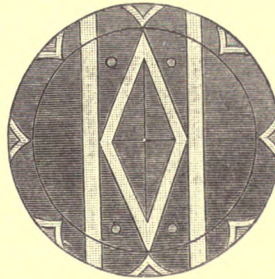


Fig. 11.

AT SAN ANDREA, PISA.

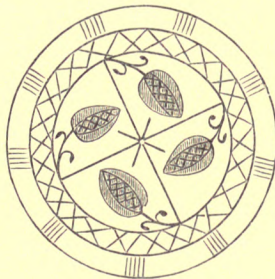


Fig. 13.

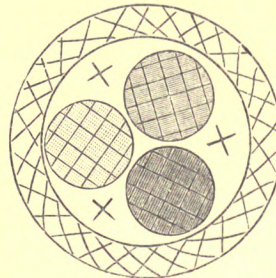


Fig. 14.

AT SAN MARTINO, PISA.

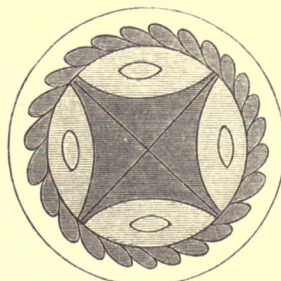


Fig. 16.



Fig. 17.

AT STA. CECILIA, PISA.

Fig. 10. Pale buff ground, blue border, red flower, green leaves. Fig. 11. Deep blue ground, yellow pattern. Fig. 13. Yellowish white ground, outlined manganese, green buds. Fig. 14. Yellowish white ground, yellow, green, and purple roundels. Fig. 16. Green centre and leaf border, yellow ovals, white edge. Fig. 17. Buff ground, reddish-brown pattern.

the campanile, the façade, and the south side are decorated with these plates. The arch of the principal entrance, as also of two others on the south side, is remarkable for its Saracenic character, being of horse-shoe form; the mouldings are of terra-cotta. On looking at the *bacini* I noticed several of that style of decoration known as *graffito* or *s-graffiato*, and which is undoubtedly of Italian origin.^a It is a ware formed of coarse red earth, over which an *engobe* or thin layer of white earth is deposited. The pattern is formed by scratching the design upon this white deposit, and thus showing the dark colour below; the whole is then glazed with a transparent lead glaze. The creamy white colour is sometimes varied by patches of green and brown. But over an arch on the south side, which has been bricked up, I noticed a plate which attracted my attention by its brilliant blue colour and marked oriental character. It was much broken and more than half had fallen out. On making application to the *rettore* I learnt that the church was founded in the year 1103 and consecrated in 1107. I begged permission to ascend the campanile, and detach a portion of the *graffiti* specimens, and also particularly for a bit of the turquoise. Leave was at once most courteously granted, and having procured a ladder I found that the greater part of the plate was loose, and at once secured my prize. It is of quite a different character from those of which I procured specimens at San Pietro in Grado; the earth is very light, sandy, and of pale colour, the glaze translucent, most probably siliceous, and of a brilliant blue, with an arabesque pattern in black painted on the ground of the plate beneath the glaze, in fact an example of what is known to collectors as "Persian ware."



Fig. 15.

FRAGMENT OF BACINO FROM SANTA CECILIA, PISA. Actual size.

^a I have since received two examples of this variety from one of the Pisan churches.

It is not a true *faience*, but a ware which is well known and very distinctly characterized, being in fact an imperfect artificial porcelain, and having some affinity with the ancient blue and green Egyptian pottery and with tiles found in the early tombs and mosques of Arabia, Syria, &c. It is composed almost entirely of a fine quartzose sand fritted or bound together by a portion of some argillaceous earth.

De Brongniart, *Traité des Arts Céramiques*, vol. i. page 505, speaking of the Egyptian pottery, which is of a very similar character, describes it as “une pâte sableuse, ne renfermant d’argile que ce qui était indispensable pour lier ce sable, et que la petite quantité d’alkali qui s’y trouvait y avait été introduite par la glaçure.”

Of the Persian ware he speaks in vol. ii. p. 49, but in classifying this *faience* he has been led into error, the first variety which he describes being now generally known as of the manufacture of Nevers. The second variety is the true Persian, as also is the lustred ware alluded to in the following paragraph. Illustrations of these wares will be found in the *Musée Céramique de Sèvres*, by De Brongniart and Riocreux, plate 39, figures 3 and 6; of the lustred, fig. 16 of the same plate. In the chronological table, vol. ii. page 86, of the *Traité*, the year 1074 is given as the earliest date at which this ware (in the form of tiles) is known to have been manufactured in Persia.

I ascended the campanile of Santa Cecilia, and there found many small plates of the Italian *graffito* ware, of one only of which I could procure an example; the remainder were similar to those of San Pietro in Grado and the other churches, and clearly of Italian manufacture.—(*Vide* figs. 16 and 17, Plate XIX.)

The brilliant reflection of the sun’s rays from some of the plates on San Martino led me at first to think that these must have a metallic lustre, and thus point to a Moorish origin; but on more carefully examining them I could not discover a single example. The action of the weather on the glaze sometimes causes a degree of decomposition, and certain opalescent colours similar to what is seen in glass which has been long buried in the earth, but of true *reflet métallique* I could find no instance.

Bologna also adopted this style of ornament, and the churches of San Giacomo Maggiore, San Martino Maggiore, and San Francesco have plates.

San Francesco is a Gothic church of the thirteenth century. On the façade is a cross formed in the brickwork, on the four arms of which plates are inserted. On one of them a crown is represented; on another an eagle, a lamb holding the banner, a stag. These are painted on a cream-white ground in manganese tint, and are

alternated with plates of dark green colour. On the façade of San Giacomo Maggiore, also an early Gothic church, founded in 1267, is a similar cross; plates are also inserted in the frieze. Bologna also possesses the only instance with which I am acquainted of this style of decoration being introduced in domestic architecture. It occurs in the ancient Palazzo Fava in the Via Galliera. It is a good specimen of the Italian Gothic, with ornaments in terra-cotta, and was built about the year 1390. The windows consist of two pointed arches sustained by double columns, a larger arched moulding inclosing them, and in the centre of the spandril, in lieu of what, in northern Gothic, would be a trefoil or cusped circle, a glazed dish or *bacino* has been introduced. These are painted with different devices, but the exceedingly wet weather prevented my taking sketches. These plates also occur on the façade of San Pietro in Cielo d'Oro, at Pavia, and on the front of San Michael in the same town. I have observed similar plates of glazed ware in the campanile of a church at the small town of Sant Arcangelo, on the road between Cesena and Rimini, and near the banks of the classic Rubicon. In Rome, the towers of the following churches are similarly decorated:—San Lorenzo fuor le Mura; San Bartolomeo, on the island of the Tiber; SS. Giovanni e Paolo; Santa Francesca Romana; Santa Bibiena, near Santa Maria Maggiore. The ancient campanile of the latter church has also green glazed *bacini*, surrounded by a double row of similarly coloured tiles placed edgewise. A sort of dog-tooth moulding is also formed by green glazed tiles, and is the nearest approach to the decoration of a church tower at Lugano. Over the arch of the *portone* at the “Sala del Cambio,” in Perugia, are tiles inserted in the marble frieze, and it is evident they were purposely formed for the place in which they still remain. They are of a brilliant greenish turquoise colour, and bear devices in manganese tint; in effect they are parallel to that of the enamels which so much heighten the ornament of architectural church plate, as monstrances, reliquaries, &c., &c. A frieze of coloured enamelled tiles is seen on the campanile of the church of Santa Maria degli Angioli, at Lugano, founded in 1499. The colours are blueish-green and yellow, and the effect, with the mixed brick and stone-work of the tower, is very brilliant and good.

From the foregoing facts I think it may be inferred that very few of the *bacini* now found in the churches of Italy are other than of Italian manufacture. The adoption of such a method of decoration may or may not have had its origin at Pisa, and was manifestly in great favour there; but I am inclined to think that the story of the Majorcan dishes, captured, and built in as trophies on the church walls, is apocryphal. Passeri's assertion, that Pesaro produced many dishes for this purpose and adopted the manner, is probable; but there can be no doubt

that they were also made at the other early Italian potteries, as Faenza, Castel Durante, &c. It would appear also that the style was discontinued previous to 1400, as I believe that *bacini* do not occur in churches of a later date; and this, coupled with the fact that none of these examples so found have the metallic lustre, would lead to the inference that the Italians were unacquainted with the method of producing this *reverberato* or *reflet métallique* till some time subsequent to that period.

The specimen from Santa Cecilia (fig. 15, *ante*,) is a remarkable and exceptional case. Its marked oriental character and the quality of its paste enable us to classify it as ancient Persian or Damascus *faience*. The constant commerce of Pisa, Venice, and Genoa with the East would be the means of introducing this ware to Italy, and accordingly we find that those pieces of old Persian ware existing in the different collections have, in the majority of instances, come from that country. It is not unlikely that other pieces of similar character and origin to that from Santa Cecilia may exist in other churches, but their inaccessible position and the accumulated dust of centuries renders their detection somewhat difficult. The bright blue one in the campanile of San Sisto may be of this description; possibly, thank-offerings from pious merchants or captains safely returned with their richly-laden galleys from the East. The dish, fig. 8, Plate XVIII. painted with a galley, and fig. 10 having a flower in the centre, have a similarity to known examples of Rhodian origin, but their position rendered a minute examination impracticable. The Italians were not given to restoration; they would alter, add to, or rebuild, but seldom restore in the spirit or letter of the original structure; and I am inclined to think that the fashion of inserting *bacini* once passed, they might remain in their places, or fall out, but would never be replaced. Had it been otherwise, pieces of a later character would be found; but, on the contrary, we see where subsequent repairs have been done the empty spaces have been bricked up, or at most filled with stucco painted to represent plates, as in San Sisto. I am, therefore, inclined to believe that the piece in question had been placed where I found it, certainly more than 500 years ago, if indeed it was not inserted at the time the church was built in 1107; and from this circumstance we have an additional proof of the great antiquity of this very beautiful ware, already known to have been in use in the form of tiles on the monument of *Iconium* (*Konieh*), in Asia Minor, attributed to the times of Sultan Kilidji Arslan and Sultan Ala-Eddin, circa 1074 and 1275. Its manufacture in Persia has been continued even to the present day, but the pieces produced, and of which specimens may be seen in the South Kensington Museum, are inferior in *technique*.

XVIII.—*On a Lamp of "Persian Ware" made for the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem in 1549: preceded by some Remarks on the Pottery and Porcelain of Egypt, Persia, Damascus, &c. By C. DRURY FORTNUM, Esq., F.S.A.*

Read April 30th, 1868.

IN making the following crude and superficial observations on those varieties of pottery known among collectors and amateurs as "Persian ware," my object is to call increased attention to the subject^a by adding the few notes which a recent tour through Syria and Egypt, and to Constantinople, has enabled me to gather, and more particularly as an introduction to the notice of the Society of a piece of this ware, remarkable for its beauty, and interesting from its having been made for a mosque of world-wide renown, and also as bearing an inscription informing us of the date of its manufacture, thus giving sure evidence as to the period of the perfection of this very elegant variety of the potter's art.

"Persian" pottery may be ranged into *four great classes*, all of which agree in the general character of the "paste" of which the pieces are formed, although differing greatly in its quality. This "paste" consists of sharp sand, argillaceous earth, and alkali, varied relatively in quantity and quality, and in the finer specimens, which can indeed be ranked as soft paste porcelain, may be characterized as a semi-vitrified argillaceous glass. Its glaze is a true glass, variously coloured by metallic oxides. By the nature of its composition it therefore differs from all other varieties of pottery or porcelain, with one exception, that of a very remote ancestor, the glazed pottery of ancient Egypt. It is not improbable that from this Egyptian root the great family of siliceous wares may have spread throughout the East. By what links these two members were connected we have not yet sufficient evidence to show, but that they are "blood relations" is proved by their composition. Indeed in this, as in other directions, how much so-called "Arabian art" owes to the early Coptic Christians, who preserved the knowledge of processes and handicrafts from the overwhelming flood of Mohammedan desolation in

^a On February 16, 1860, numerous specimens of the earthenware usually called "Persian" were exhibited to the Society, and on this occasion Mr. Franks communicated much interesting information on "Persian Wares," which he arranged into three classes.—*See Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. i. p. 94.

Egypt, is a subject of much interest, which, when carefully elucidated, may perhaps prove that many of the most lovely creations of architecture, metal-work, and general artistic manufacture, were from the heads and hands of the down-trodden Copt. I have exhibited a somewhat uncommon specimen of the ancient Egyptian pottery which I acquired at Thebes; it is of the period of the 18th dynasty, and shows the similarity of composition to which I allude. The hieroglyphic inscription on it gives the name of Ammen Em Apt, priest of Ammon ra, and superintendent of the writings of the temple.^a

The first variety of Persian pottery is that which is mostly decorated with metallic lustre of a yellow golden, a rich brown, or a ruby or coppery character. The ground of the piece is generally creamy white or dark blue; the subjects arabesques with trees, birds, and flowers, the cypress-tree being of frequent occurrence. This variety is of early origin, fragments of broken vessels, tiles, &c. being found in the ruins of very ancient buildings in Persia and Arabia. In Mr. Henderson's collection is a tile having a portion of an inscription in relief, which is considered by M. Schefer, who possesses another portion of the same inscription, to be of the 13th century or early in the 14th. Another remarkable example is a tile in the possession of Baron Davilier, which came from the ruins of the bath-room of Shah Abbas II. in the ancient palace at Ferabad near Ispahan, on which a horse-man, supposed to represent the Persian monarch, is figured in relievo, with his favourite hawk upon his hand, flowers, foliage, &c. the whole heightened by ruby metallic lustre worthy of "Maestro Georgio." Others of these tiles, but without lustre, were brought from Persia by M. Mechin, some of which are in the possession of John Henderson, Esq. F.S.A. whose rich collection contains one of the choicest examples, a vase of the greatest beauty of quality and decoration. I have exhibited some cups and a plate of this variety from my own collection.^b

^a The following is a translation of this inscription kindly given me by Dr. Birch.

"Libations of water and wine and milk.

"May all libations be made from the table of

"Osiris to the priests of Ammon ra, King of

"the Gods and Superintendent of the writings of the

"temple of Ammon, Ammen Em Apt."

The vessel itself, of the form known as "*Namms*," was used for the pouring of libations, as frequently represented in the hieroglyphics on the temples at Thebes and elsewhere.

^b Since the above was written, a remarkable wine-jar of this variety of ware has been procured from the district of Isfahan by M. Mechin; it is of lengthened ovoid form, nearly one *metre* in height, decorated in zones, first of plants and leafage, then animals, &c.; the central one with mounted horse-men, dogs, hawks, &c.; next animals and birds; lastly plants, leafage, &c.; the whole of the figures are in *relievo*; the ground

M. Mechin, who recently returned from his second journey into Persia, having previously had his attention called to the subject, took particular pains to discover whether this variety is of ancient or recent date; he informed me that its manufacture has long since ceased, and that fragments of it are found among the rubbish only of ancient buildings. He was enabled to meet with but very few specimens, and these mostly of inferior quality and probably of the *décadence* of the manufacture. The tiles bearing the supposed portrait of Shah Abbas II. who reigned till 1628, can hardly be ascribed to the better period of this variety, and indeed are the connecting link between it and the third. The finer pieces may with greater probability be ascribed to the middle or earlier part of the preceding century. Fragments of very ancient tiles found by M. Mechin, some bearing inscriptions, have recently been acquired for the South Kensington Museum, and others are in the possession of Mr. Henderson.

I may mention that during my recent tour in the East I vainly sought at Damascus and elsewhere for examples of this lusted variety of pottery, nor could I learn, from the many persons of whom I made inquiries, any trace of the existence of such a ware either in Syria, Egypt, or the Levant. The opinion, therefore, which has been advanced, that it is a pottery of comparatively recent date, and probably of Levantine origin, is not borne out by any evidence, but on the contrary there is every reason to conclude that it is of purely Persian origin and early date, ranging from the 13th to the 16th centuries, and now of great rarity. The majority of the fine pieces in collections have been found in Italy, where they have probably been lying unknown and unappreciated for centuries.

I possess two vases of precisely similar character in paste, glaze, and metallic lustre, to the variety just described. They are of the upright cylindrical form so generally adopted for the use of the "Farmacia" attached to the Italian monasteries, 14 inches high, of coarse sandy paste, and glazed with a true glass of a dark blue colour: one is ornamented with raised spiral ribs of lustre colour, between which are what would appear to be inscriptions of the same colour, but which Dr. Rieu, of the British Museum, has been unable to decypher; the neck is banded with a network pattern. The other vase has similar spiral bands of lustre but not in relief, and the ornament between consists of scrolls; on the neck is what appears to be an inscription in the style of early Arabic, but not readable. A vase of similar form and character has been illustrated in Delange's folio work on majolica, now in course of publication in Paris; and two oviform vases of similar is creamy white, covered with a fine foliated vermicular diapering in golden lustre colour, with which also the relievos are heightened.

stamp were exhibited by Mr. Falkner at the South Kensington Museum ; and in that collection are some others of a similar ware but differing in colour. These examples are all believed to be of Sicilian origin, and, like the Rhodian ware, were probably produced by Eastern workmen at the time of the Norman occupation of the island, and may be termed "*Siculo-Persian*," or "*Siculo-Persic*."^a

Examples of another kind of ware of stanniferous glaze, and decorated with vermicular patterns in coppery lustre colour—generally on a dark blue ground, have been brought from Sicily. These, which would appear to be of more recent manufacture, may with greater propriety be called "*Siculo-Moresque*," and are probably from the potteries of Calata-Girone. They are indeed only a variety of the Hispano-Moresque wares of Spain.

The *second variety* is without metallic reflection in its decoration ; the colour is generally creamy white, with flowers, &c. in dark but vivid blue, and some ornament of a reddish brown. The peculiar decoration consists in cutting holes of various forms through the paste, which holes are subsequently filled with the translucent glaze which covers the whole piece, similar to a variety of Japanese porcelain well-known to collectors. Several examples of this kind but of a coarse and inferior quality have been recently imported into Paris, and M. Mechin also procured some in Persia ; the pieces of finer quality are, however, very rare, and extremely beautiful, the choicest examples I know being in the collection of Mr. Henderson. I am not yet fortunate enough to possess a specimen. Of its local origin we have no data ; it may have been the production of some one family of potters, and regarded as a curiosity or "fantasia." This, or the preceding variety, is supposed to be the "Gombroon" ware of Horace Walpole.

The *third variety*, which is nearly connected by the quality of its paste with the two former, being occasionally of so fine a texture as to be semi-translucent, and in fact an artificial porcelain, is of a pure or a creamy white ground, painted with flowers, fruit, animals and birds, and sometimes with figures of men and women, outlined with manganese colour, and filled in generally with a brilliant copper blue. These pieces are sometimes decorated in imitation of the Chinese, and occasionally have imitations of Chinese marks beneath them. A flask in my own collection is a characteristic example purely Persian in form, sentiment of decoration, and "technique," and having beneath an imitation of the well-known "mandarin" mark, as we also find on some of the early pieces of our own Worcester and Delft wares. Some pieces have figures of men and women partly in relief.

^a M. Jacquemart considers these specimens to be of purely Persian manufacture imported into Europe.

It sometimes occurs of coarse inferior quality, and can hardly be considered of so old a date as the preceding.

Before entering on the consideration of the fourth and more abundant variety, I may here allude to Persian *hard-paste porcelain*, the existence of which has been declared by the researches of M. Jacquemart, in whose collection are specimens singularly agreeing with Chinese style in some instances, yet having carefully and accurately written Arabic inscriptions, and in others more characteristic of Persian decoration. They differ from the pottery in being heavy; the paste a kaolinic one of "hard" nature, somewhat coarse and partially translucent; but differing in certain details from the Chinese. The use of manganese for drawing the outlines, and traces of the pieces having been baked on coarse sand, are considered characteristics. The occurrence of correctly written Arabic inscriptions cannot however be taken as evidence of Persian origin. A heavy piece of creamy white colour, having round medallions filled with correctly written Arabic sentences in relief, and believed to be of Chinese manufacture, was taken from the house of a Mahomedan mandarin by a nephew of Mr. Henderson, in whose possession it now is.

The foregoing kinds are of purely *Persian* origin and comparatively little known; the one now to be considered is that generally classed as "*Persian*," "*Damas*," and "*Rhodian*," or "*Lindus*" ware. Its decoration is polychrome, the colours being of but few varieties, dark, turquoise, and lilac blues, a chocolate brown, green, manganese black, rarely yellow, and an opaque red. It was a manufacture widely spread, and very productive, particularly of wall-tiles, as decoration to mosques and other buildings. From its Egyptian, or Babylonian, cradle, where bricks glazed with blue and yellow were used from the most remote periods, it probably travelled to Persia and Damascus, and from the former country derived its elegant decoration. In the rubbish heaps outside the walls of the latter, fragments of this ware abound, and I am inclined to think that that venerable city became the metropolis of this variety, which was known, and is mentioned in many of the old European inventories, as "*Damas*" or "*Damascus*" ware. Pieces still exist in collections, having silver gilt mountings of the period of Queen Elizabeth. This combined evidence would I think quite warrant the re-adoption of that name for one division of this class of Faience, of course excepting those pieces which bear evidence of their Rhodian origin.

Thence the potters spread, carrying their art and the simple apparatus of their trade. Those who know Eastern countries are aware how independent are all the handicraftsmen of convenience and of mechanical contrivance; the wheel is a

rough and easily-constructed machine; clay may be found anywhere to build the simple furnace; the pigments and the reed-brushes occupy but small space, and the materials for the paste and glaze were easily and abundantly found. The art of mixing these and applying those was inherited by son from father. Any one who has visited Sioot on the Nile will have seen with what few appliances are produced the elegant cups and coffee-pots, water-bottles, and pipe-bowls of that light-red ware so much admired. So also at Constantinople. How rude and primitive are the furnaces of the glass-works at Hebron. So I believe was it with the production of this ware. The potters went to decorate the mosque instead of the tiles being carried from the manufactory miles away, as would be the case in Europe, and thus located themselves in various places, spreading their manufacture far and wide. Where a large work of decoration took place they established their kiln, and worked under the direction of the architect and decorator.

This method of external and internal decoration by glazed tiles was greatly in vogue during the most flourishing period of Mohammedanism, and ranged from Persia throughout Syria and Asia Minor to Constantinople, and also to Mecca and Egypt.^a This Damascus ware in the form of dishes and other vessels for domestic use must have been equally diffused, fragments occurring very generally in the rubbish of inhabited and of deserted towns. I have some pieces which I picked up among the ruins of Baalbec, thrown out from recent excavations of considerable depth. As wall-decoration I do not recollect seeing any which formed part of the original work of the earlier mosques in Egypt—such as Tooloon at Cairo; but on some of the so-called “Tombs of the Caliphs” of the *fifteenth century*, outside the walls of that city, they occur, and are contemporaneous, forming part of the whole design. At Damascus they are found in the great mosque, but may have been introduced at any time, and are frequent in the mosques of later building. The tombs of Broussa are richly decorated with them; but the most beautiful examples which I have seen are in the mosques of Constantinople and that of Omar at Jerusalem. There are some exquisite panels also in the old palace of the Seraglio at Constantinople; among them some remarkably large and beautiful tiles of purely Persian character, in some instances nearly two feet square, and covered with the most elegant arabesques of foliage, with birds and insects, fruit and flowers, intertwined. Sometimes, as in the tomb of Soleyman the Great, a large wide band of dark blue forms a belt beneath the

^a In Spain it was also abundantly used by the Arabs and by the Moors—the mosque of Cordova by the former, the Alhambra by the latter; but these tiles were of a totally different composition, being earthenware glazed with a stanniferous glaze, and decorated with gold and copper-coloured metallic lustre.

dome three or more feet in width, and covered with sentences from the Koran in bold and beautifully-formed Arabic characters of pearly white; the walls are panelled with charming designs inclosed in a border, and giving the effect of Persian carpets stretched as a tapestry upon the walls, but having a rich soft glossy surface of admirable effect. The borders and panels are adapted to the walls around, and follow the intricate outlines of the window openings; these filled in with tracery and coloured glass designed to correspond, and producing the most harmonious effects of colour and of form, the border-tiles being each shaped and painted with the care and nicety of a mosaic. Some of the most beautiful examples are the windows of the mosque of Soleyman the Great. To speak in detail of the decoration of the mosque of Omar would be but a useless repetition of what has been often and far better done before. All know how it glows like a turquoise in the brilliant sunshine.^a

While on the subject of wall decoration I may mention that an ancient custom, still occasionally in vogue on building a new house, was to place over the entrance door a plate or tile of *blue* colour as a charm to ward off "Afreet's" and the effects of the "evil eye." I have more than once noticed a common English earthenware plate of our dear old friend the "willow pattern" used for this purpose, and looking oddly enough to our eyes (which certainly were not evilly disposed towards it) over the door of some newly erected house.

The variety under consideration was produced at a very early period; in evidence of which is the occurrence of fragments among the waste and ruins of deserted buildings, and the occurrence of a plate, partly broken, which I noticed over the door of the church of Santa Cecilia at Pisa, and which probably was inserted at the time of its erection in 1107.^b

I will not here venture upon an enumeration of the various forms and characteristics of the pieces of this ware. Those of purely oriental origin may be distinguished by their more subdued but harmonious colouring, and by their evenness of surface, rich equal glaze, and generally superior quality, and might be classed as "*Damas*" or "*Damascus*" ware. The lamp I am about to describe, and a jug, also in my collection, are examples.^c

^a On the occasion of reading the present paper three tiles were exhibited, two of which I brought from Damascus; the other, of more ancient date, is of the earlier decoration of the mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, previous to its restoration by Soleyman the Great in the sixteenth century.

^b See woodcut, fig. 15, in the preceding article on *Bacini*.

^c I should also here refer to a ware of apparently more recent origin, and perhaps the product of Asia Minor in more than one locality, but whose exact habitat has not been definitely fixed. It may be more

The rich collections of Mr. Henderson, Mr. Louis Huth, and Mr. Franks in England, and of Baron Davilier and M. Schefer in Paris, contain examples of all these various qualities.

The reign of Soleyman the Great, 1520—1566, would appear to be the time of its greatest development and perfection in Syria and Turkey, curiously corresponding to that of the "majolica" in Italy; its "*décadence*" probably had a nearly similar correspondence. Dishes of "Persian" ware were imitated and copied by the majolica makers in Italy, and it would appear that the Knights of Rhodes brought Persian or Syrian potters into their island, and there established a pottery. It is probable that the majority of the dishes, jugs, vases, &c. in collections coming from Italy are of this Rhodian variety, which is believed to have some distinctive characteristics, particularly the occurrence of an opaque red colour, used partly in relief for the flowers, &c. Some pieces have the heraldic bearings of the Knights of St. John, and on one in the collection of the Hôtel Cluny at Paris are inscriptions in Arabic; the potters bewailing an exile from their beloved native land.

I have just said that the middle of the sixteenth century was the period of its greatest perfection, and I will now proceed to describe the lamp which I have the honour of presenting to your notice, and which is a work of that period.

Its form is precisely similar to that of the Arabian glass lamps so well known. (See Plate XX.) The three small handles for suspension, and the absence of any bottom to the vase, prove its use; its height is $15\frac{1}{2}$ inches; the whole of the interior is white; on the outer edge of the lip is a band of dark blue colour, covered with an Arabic inscription, in beautifully formed letters of pure white, and which reads,

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال النبي م المؤمن في المسجد كسمك في الماء والمنافق في المسجد
ك تطير [كطير] في القفص

That is to say :—

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Prophet (on whom be God's blessing and peace) said: The believer in the mosque is like the fish in the water, and the false believer in the mosque is like the bird in a cage."

Beneath this, and extending to the contraction of the neck, the ground is white,

properly classed as Turkish than Persian, although some pieces are very Persian in style, and may have been a local product of that country. It occurs as cups and saucers, basins, pastile-burners, &c. generally of small size, and is frequently decorated with intricate patterns of many colours, and with crossed lines incised into the paste. It is now generally believed to be of Anatolian origin.



LAMP OF PERSIAN WARE. DATED 1549

In the collection of Dr. Levey, F.R.S.

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I have noticed that the middle of the sixteenth century was the period of its greatest perfection, and I now proceed to describe the lamp which I have the pleasure of submitting to you, and which is a work of that period.

It differs somewhat from that of the Arabian glass lamps so well known. (See Plate V. Fig. 1.) It has two small handles for suspension, and the absence of any further ornamentation is its age; its height is 15½ inches; the whole of the interior is white, and the outer edge of the lip is a band of dark blue colour, covered with an Arabic inscription, in beautifully formed letters of pure white, and which reads—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال النبي م المؤمن في المسجد كسمكة في الماء، والمؤمن في المسجد
كقطير [قطير] في القفص

That is to say :—

- "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, the Prophet (on whom be God's blessing and peace) said: The believer in the mosque is like the fish in the water, and the false believer in the mosque is like the bird in a cage."

Beneath this, and extending to the contraction of the neck, the ground is white, properly classed as Turkish than Persian, although some pieces are very Persian in style, and may have been a local product of that country. It occurs as cups and saucers, basins, pastile-burners, &c. generally of small size, and is frequently decorated with intricate patterns of many colours, and with crossed lines incised into the paste. It is now generally believed to be of Anatolian origin.



LAMP OF PERSIAN WARE. DATED 1549

In the Collection of C. Drury Fortnum. Esq F.S.A.

and divided by a sort of pendentive ornament from above, and from below, of pale greenish-blue colour, covered with interlaced ornament, of manganese black, and which pendentives unite in a rose of dark-blue; between, in the centre of each space, is a peculiar flower-like bow or knot of foliated ribbon, of dark blue colour touched with turquoise, and having the effect of some orchidaceous flower.* To this succeeds a narrow band on the shoulder, of turquoise, panelled in oval spaces of dark blue, on each of which are three tulip-buds in white. Next comes the principal belt, from which spring the three handles for suspension; this belt is also of dark blue, covered with Arabic characters in white, and which read—

يا الله المحمود في كل افعاله الله ولى التوفيق يا خفى اللطاف نجنا مما نخاف

“O God! praised in all thy works, God, dispensator of prosperity, Oh thou author of secret graces, save us from that which we fear.”

To this succeeds the wider part of the vase, covered on a white ground with a similar decoration to that of the neck; underneath is the third blue belt, with white inscription, and reading—

قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ان الله تعالى طيب لا يقبل الا طيبا عن ابى هريرة رضى الله عنه

“The messenger of God (on whom be God’s blessing and peace) has said: Verily God the Most High is good, and receives none but the good. [This saying is recorded on the authority] of Abu Hurairah [one of the disciples of Mohammed], may God be pleased with him.”

Lastly, round the projecting foot of the vase is a series of small oblong white panels, on which are written, in somewhat faint black characters, what reads as follows:—

..... ول دريا بيه كم از نقده اشرف داد در في سنه ٩٥٦ في شهر جماديل اول نقاش الفقير
الحقير مصطفى

..... “In the year 956, in the month of Jemazi-l-oola. The painter is the poor, the humble, Mustafa.”

I am indebted to Dr. Rieu for the translation and transcription of these inscriptions. He states, in reference to the remaining portions of the lower inscription, “The few words before the date are, to me at least, unintelligible. Some of them appear Persian, others Turkish. The passage being defective, and probably incorrectly written, it would hardly be safe to say to which of the two languages

* This peculiar flower occurs also on a plate, and on a Persian carpet in the possession of Baron Davilier.

it should be assigned, much less to attempt a translation. The date of the Hejrah corresponds to June 1549."

Hence we learn that the lamp was made in the year of the Hejrah 956, corresponding with 1549 of our reckoning, which is precisely the year when Soleyman the Great restored and redecored the mosque of Omar with tiles, &c. as we learn from the inscription over the "paradise gate" (*vide* De Vogue's *Le Temple de Jerusalem*). The lamp was no doubt made for that sultan, and the poor painter ventured to record his name and the date on a part of the foot which would not be visible from below when suspended. This was done by means of three chains, one of which attached to each handle passed against and over the lip, and united at some distance above, where an oviform globe of the same material was placed, from which a single stouter chain passed to the roof of the mosque, or to a large hoop similarly suspended from the ceiling, and from which several lamps were hung to form a sort of corona. This method was more in use for the smaller glass lamps, the centre being occupied by one of greater value and importance. The question naturally arises, How could this opaque vase be used as a lamp? It is bottomless, and therefore nothing more than a shaped tube; but probably to the lower rim was attached a wire ring, in which one of the ordinary glass oil-cups was fitted as it would be to a metal lamp, the Persian-ware vase acting as a shade above, from whose white interior the light was reflected downwards. The oviform balls, representing ostrich-eggs, are still to be found in some mosques. In Mr. Henderson's collection, and in that of M. Davilier, are some which are remarkable as being decorated with winged cherubim; these were probably used in some Coptic church. Those I observed in mosques were yellow green, and some white with blue ornament, but few of the glass lamps have escaped.

The only other instance known to me of a lamp of Persian ware occurs in the mosque of Soleyman the Great at Constantinople, where it occupies the most honourable position, and, though much broken and begrimed with filth, is regarded as a priceless treasure. I am informed by M. Mechin that none exist in Persia, nor have they been observed by him elsewhere, or by any of the travellers of whom I have made inquiry on the subject. I am told, however, that in a remote mosque of the dervishes at Cairo, the "Urlair," near the gate "Bab el Hal," a smaller one existed, which Dr. Meymar vainly for years essayed to purchase, receiving for final answer that it was sacred, and, were he to give its fill of diamonds, it should not be removed from the mosque.^a

^a Since the above was written M. Schefer has acquired a lamp of somewhat similar form, but of smaller

It remains for me to state the history of the discovery and acquisition of this lamp. In the year 1865, a friend of some influence, then residing at Jerusalem, obtained permission to explore and make sketches in the more remote corners of the mosque of Omar, and was soon enabled to make himself esteemed by the guardian of the building, from whom he obtained information and opportunities of observation. A long-neglected lumber-room was entered, and there, in a corner, veiled by the accumulated dust of years, was the lamp; two of the handles broken, and a piece from the lip, told why it had been stowed away, but *when* no one could answer; the sequel is natural—it came into the light of day, and was kindly ceded to me by my friend.

I cannot conclude this notice without referring to the very interesting and instructive chapters on the pottery and porcelain of Persia, &c. in the “*Merveilles Ceramiques*” of Mons. Jacquemart.

dimensions and ruder execution; it is of earlier date, “portant sous le pied l’inscription ‘fait par *Us Elaïny Ettoureïzy* xv^e siecle.’” (Guide au Musée Oriental, Paris, 1869, p. 35.) The ground is greenish black, with two zones of Arabic inscription and one of leafage “reserved” in white; a fine vermicular diapering of similar nature fills up the intervals of the lettering, &c. This extremely interesting specimen was received, I was informed, from Asia Minor, and was exhibited at the “Exposition des Beaux Arts” in Paris, 1869.

XIX.—*A Mutilated Roll of Instruments relating to the Hospital of St. Edmund, at Sprotborough, near Doncaster; with prefatory remarks by EDWARD PEACOCK, Esq. F.S.A. Local Secretary for Lincolnshire: in a Letter addressed to Charles Spencer Perceval, Esq. LL.D. Director.*

Read May 6th, 1869.

DEAR SIR,

I forward you herewith a transcript of all such portions as can be read of a mutilated roll in the possession of Sir Joseph William Copley, of Sprotborough, in the county of York, Baronet. I am indebted for my copy to the courtesy of Charles Jackson, Esq. of Balby. The handwriting of the document is not much more modern than the date of the last instrument contained in it. It was certainly executed during the fifteenth century, probably about the middle of that period.

Of the Hospital of Saint Edmund the King scarcely anything whatever is at present known, except the few facts furnished by this very imperfect record. The late Mr. Hunter in his *South Yorkshire*^a tells us, quoting the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* as to foundations in the parish of Sprotborough, that there was “a chantry or free chapel of Aneres juxta Doneaster,” and that this establishment was endowed with “a manse for the cantarist, a meadow called Aneres-ing, and lands at Newton producing annually 8*l.* 17*s.* 8*d.*” That learned antiquary conjectured that this was probably the hospital of St. Edmund which Dodsworth had stated was distant from Sprotborough church a mile and a half.^b The discovery of the evidence now before us removes all doubt on the matter, for Sprotborough church is little more than that distance from the bridge of Doneaster, near which, as appears from the documents now printed, the hospital was situated; and the parish runs down to the river Don, which is crossed by the bridge.

As to the origin of this hospital we can say nothing. The foundation-charter, if indeed such a record ever existed, must have perished before this charter-roll was compiled, or we should have found it set forth at the head thereof, or possibly immediately after the Papal bulls. Humble institutions of this kind were widely scattered: of most of them but very slight historical memorials exist. It is not

^a i. 349.

^b See Tanner, *Not. Mon.* Yorkshire, Sprotburgh.

improbable that this hospital of St. Edmund, and many others of like character, were never founded in the strict legal sense of the term; but that a few pious persons, having gathered themselves together, erected a house of religion on a plot of waste land, and continued to hold the same without any definite title through the good will of the lord of the fee.

The institution appears to have been twofold,—consisting of a master, chaplains, and infirm persons, with two or possibly more anchoresses attached to their body. The memory of these religious is clearly retained in the name Ancres-Ing⁹ given to their meadow in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.

Of Thomas FitzWilliam, the grantor of the first charter, and of his son William FitzThomas or FitzWilliam, nothing need be said here. Almost all that can be told concerning the earlier members of this illustrious house has already been published.^a

I am, yours faithfully,

EDWARD PEACOCK.

[Roll, 2 feet 9 inches × 8 inches.]

BULLE HOSPITALIS SANCTI EDMUNDI REGIS ET MARTYRIS JUXTA PONTEM DONCASTR⁹.

. dilectis filiis infirmis fratribus Sancti Edmundi juxta Pontem Doncastr⁹ salutem et apostolicam benedictionem est nos facilem prebere consensum et vota que a rationis tramite non discordant dilecti in domino filii vestris iustis postulacionibus grato concurrentes assensu domum vestram mcia regulariter unius animi sub beati Petri et nostra proteccione suscipimus et presentis entes ut de ortis et pomeriis vestris seu de nutrimentis animalium vestrorum vel extorquere presumat. Capellanum quoque ydoneum vos habere concedimus, qui in capella Indulgemus insuper ut pro sepultura vestra et eorum qui de familia vestra sunt ibidem ergo ut nulli omnino hominum liceat hanc nostre proteccionis seu constitucionis paginam infringere Si quis autem hoc attemptare presumpserit indignacionem omnipotentis dei et beatorum incursum. Datum Veller⁹ iij kalendis Aprilis

Confirmacio Bulle predictæ.

. dilectis filiis magistro et fratribus domus infirmorum Sancti Edmundi juxta pontem Doncastr⁹ [bene]dictionem. Cum a vobis petitur quod justum est et honestum tam vigor equitatis sollicitudinem officii nostri ad debitum perducatur effectum. Ea propter dilecti in domino concurrentes assensu domum vestram Sancti Edmundi predictam omnesque libertates in Romanis pontificibus sive per privilegia vel alias indulgencias vobis et domui pertinentiis suis necnon libertates et exempcionem secularum exaccionum a regibus fidelibus vobis et dicte vestre domui indultis sicut eas iuste et pacifice possidetis

^a Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, i. 333; ii. 93.

[auctori]tate apostolica confirmamus et presentis scripti patrocinio communimus
 hanc paginam nostre comunicacionis infringere vel ei ausu temerarie contraire pre-
 sumperit indignacionem omnipotentis Dei et beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum
 Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum xv kalendas Maii Pontificatus nostri anno nono.

Carta Thome Fitz William^a in primis Anachoritis facta.

. ego Thomas filius Willelmi intuitu Dei pro salute anime mee et omnium anteces-
 sorum meorum dedi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Anabille et Helene sororibus
 inclusis octo quartaria frumenti ad earumdem sustentacionem in tota vita sua annua-
 tim inclusarum memorato loco futuris temporibus invicem sibi succedentium que predicta
 de Sprotburgh per manus heredum meorum vel assignatorum suorum. Que predicti
 herede[s sine difficul]tate et impedimento reddent annuatim, scilicet duo quartaria ad Natale domini
 ad Pentecosten et duo infra octabas Sancti Michaelis. Cum vero contigerit unam vel utramque
 inclusarum vel forte locum vacare inclusarum tamdiu predictum frumentum vel
 medietas inclusa sacerdotibus dicti hospitalis Beati Edmundi Martyris ab heredibus meis
 vel eorum assignatis diebus certis pro anima mea et antecessorum et heredum meorum
 per bonorum virorum consilium vel incluse prefato inclusorio fuerunt institute. Hiis
 testibus Domino Waltero do Priore de Blida Domino Petro de Percy Domino
 Johanne filio Willielmi Ambrosio de militibus Roberto de Sprotburgh clerico Eugni
 et Radulfo de Kaleham fratribus et aliis.

[Carta] Willelmi filii Thome Fitz William^b secundo facta Anachoritis.

. ad quos presentes litere pervenerint Willelmus filius Thome de Sprotburgh salutem
 in domino me caritatis intuitu pro salute anime mee antecessorum meorum et heredum
 meorum dedisse [et car]ta mea confirmasse Anabille et Helene sorori sue filiabus Jordani de
 Insula Ana[choritis] juxta pontem Doncastr⁹ omnibus diebus vite sue et omnibus anachoritis
 successoribus suis quod quondam habuerunt in predicto Hospitali Sancti Edmundi videlicet
 tempore In hiis nominatim quod Custos dicti hospitalis eisdem anachoritis et omnibus
 honore prout decet in omnibus exhibebit et missam horas canonicas pro salute anime
 fidelium defunctorum in dicta capella ad honorem dei et juxta libitum Volo
 eciam et concedo quod dictus Custos dicti Hospitalis vacas p' includendarum rationabiliter
 secundum (?) aysiamenta predictae domus tanquam sororibus propriis sumptibus faciet cus-
 todire. Preterea literium pro lectis fa[ciendis], communiam in curtilag' cum omnibus aysiamentis et

^a Sir Thomas FitzWilliam, grantor of this charter, lived in the time of Henry III.: the date of his death towards the end of that reign is not exactly known. If it be allowable to restore the name of the prior of Blythe, by reading [Theobal]do, the charter may be dated between 1260 and 1272, as in the former year Theobald became prior of that house. His predecessor was named Gilbert, a name which in the ablative would not give the final syllable *do*.

^b William, son of Thomas, was heir to Sir Thomas FitzWilliam. Anabel and Helen de Lisle, the two ancesses in whose favour the first charter was made, were still alive at the date of this. It is probably somewhat earlier than the fine which follows.

pertinenc[iis] ubique pertinentibus sine difficultate seu et contradiccione vel calumpnia omnibus ibidem includendis omnibus diebus vite sue predict' Custos inveniet et in [A]nabelle et Helene et omnes ibidem includend' esse concedo participes Insuper dictus singulis concedo duo quartaria frumenti de orrio dicti Custodis scilicet sine et contradiccione. Salva tamen in omnibus predictis iurisdiccione ad eñ In cujus rei testimonium presentibus sigillum meum apposui. Hiis Doncastr⁹ Michael de Adwycke Wilhelmo filio Henrici de eadem Roberto cum multis aliis.

[*Fin*]alis Concordia.^a

. domini regis apud Eborum a die Sancti Johannis Baptiste in unum mensem anno regni coram Johanne de Vallibus Wilhelmo de Saham Rogero Lufday Johanne de Mes de Suddyngton Justiciariis itinerantibus et aliis Domini Regis fidelibus tunc ibi presentibus [inclu]sas sub capella Sancti Edmundi extra Doncastr⁹ querentes et per Thomam Gocelyn positum Willelmum filium Thome defortiantem de xxiiij quarteriis frumenti que eis aretro fuerunt debet unde placitatum fuit inter eos in eadem curia, scilicet quod predictus Willelmus reddent singulis annis imperpetuum predictis inclusis et aliis ad quatuor terminos anni scilicet ad festum Sancti Michaelis duo quarteria frumenti et ad festum Pentecostes duo quarteria frumenti. Et pro hac recognicione concessi[one] quie⁹ tam pde se et de aliis inclusis que eis succedent omnia concordia facta fuit.

The next document is without heading, and so imperfect as to be quite unintelligible—"Isabella que fuit uxor domini Willielmi Fitz Willielmi Johannes filius Briani de Thornehill," occur in it. "Datum apud Sprotburgh vij die mensis Aprilis."

Scriptum Donacionis.

More imperfect than the last. "Elizabetha fitz Willielmi domina de Sprotburgh"^b conveys to Thomas de Sprotburgh certain lands: among others names of places which cannot be read, Aukenge and Rycroft occur. Mention is made of "Johannis de Neuton capellani." "Edmundo fitz William"^c Harlyngton Roberto Barr⁹ may be made out among the witnesses. Date 1384.

^a The fine of the copy of the record of which this is a fragment was levied in the 8th year of Edward I. as appears by Mr. Hunter's note (*South Yorks.* i. 336) of a more perfect copy in a MS. collection at Milton. The claim, it also appears, was for 24 quarters of wheat, which were in arrear of an annual rent of eight quarters, no doubt the gift of the conuzor's father recorded in the first charter.

^b Widow of Sir John FitzWilliam, of Sprotborough, and "de Arkeseye joust Doncastre," who died on or before 1385. In 1364 he had (says Hunter, i. 338) the King's licence to amortise land to the use of the master and chaplains of the hospital of St. Edmund of Sprotborough. Dame Elizabeth was a daughter of the house of Clinton, but her place in the pedigree is not clear. The *Rotuli Parliamentorum* of 1389 (iii. 260) contain a curious petition from Sir Thomas Metham, from which it seems Sir John FitzWilliam was murdered by Roger Spark, a servant of John Aske, of Ousthorp.

^c Probably Edmund FitzWilliam, ancestor of the family of that name, of Wadworth and Aldwark. Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, ii. 54.

A document without heading. A mere fragment, "Aukenge" and "Bentlay" mentioned. "Tho^s Knapnaue capellanus" occurs. Date 1409.

[In dorso Rotuli.]

Scriptum Donacionis.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit Robertus Waterton^a jure Margarete uxoris sue et prefata Margareta eius vxor salute animarumstrarum et anime Johannis fitz William nuper viri dicte Margarete et dedisse concessisse et hoc presenti scripto nostro confirmasse Roberto Vincent⁹ liberum hospitale Sancti Edmundi Regis et Martyris juxta pontem Doncastr⁹ et de Sprotburgh totaliter spectans prout a tempore in territorio de Scauceby^b ac omnibus aliis proficuis et commoditatibus tam ultimo capellano hospitalis predicti aut aliis predecessorum suorum illa quod dictus Robertus aut alius capellanus nomine suo infra dictum hospitale in officio et alia divina servicia celebrando prout decet. Et nos vero dictus Robertus de Waterton predicetur et Margareta vxor mea hospitale predictum cum omnibus terminum vite sue warrantizabimus et defendemus. In cujus rei testimonium apposimus. Hiis testibus Leone Domino de Welles^c Thoma^d Clarill Willelmo Sea [ar]migeris

^a Robert Waterton the younger, of Methley. Whitaker, *Loidis and Elmete*, 268. He would appear to be identical with Robert Waterton esquire, upon whose death several writs of inquiry issued (Esch. 3 Hen. VI. No. 16) as to what lands, &c. he died seised of in Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire. By the inquisitions taken in pursuance of these writs, it was found that he died seised of the manor of Northleverton, co. Notts, held of the Archbishop of York in socage by the service of 11s. per annum; of the manor of Westburgh, co. Linc. held of the King *in capite*; of the manors of Brotton, held of the King *in capite*, and Everingham, held of the Archbishop of York, and of lands at Skynnergreve, in the county of York, all as tenant by the curtesy, these manors being of the inheritance of his late wife Joan, to whose son and heir Robert Elys they all remained. This Robert Elys was then 40 years old and upwards. He was found to have died on Wednesday next after the feast of St. Hilary then last past (Jan. 17, 1425), his heir being his son Robert Waterton, aged 16 years and upwards. Joan, who thus figures as the first wife of Robert Waterton, was a daughter of William de Everingham, and widow of Sir William Elys, and (with a sister) coheir of her brother Robert de Everingham, who died 44 Edw. III. (See Ord's Cleveland under Skinninggrove.) Robert Waterton died, it will be observed, between the execution of the first and the second of the two charters in the text, and it is curious to find his widow confirming her own and her late husband's deed within two days of his decease. Sir Robert his father must have survived him, for he himself is returned as holding no other lands than those which he had by the curtesy. His son Robert also must have died without issue, as the daughters of Lady Welles became the coheirs of their uncle and grandfather, and as such made partition of the estates 26 April, 2 Hen. VII. according to a deed cited in Burke's *Landed Gentry*, ed. 1863.

^b Scawsby. Scalchebi, *Domesday*; Scauceby, *Kirkby's Inq.*; a hamlet in the parish of Brodsworth.

^c Leo Lord Welles, sixth Baron by writ, killed at the battle of Towton 1461; he married a daughter of Robert Waterton the elder, of Methley, who has been variously called Jane and Cecily.

^d Thomas Clarel, of Aldwark, was father of this Margaret, widow of John FitzWilliam. He was drowned in the River Don 1st May, 1442. It is more probable that it was his son who witnessed this donation. This person was aged 40 years at his father's death.

Johanne Dawnay et aliis militibus. Datum apud Methlay xij^o die Janu[arii] sexti post Conquestum Anglie tercio.

Scriptum et Confirmacio Donacionis predictæ.

Sciant universi Christi fideles quod ego Margareta Domina de Sprotburgh que fui vxor armigeri nuper vxor Johannis fitz William de Sprotburgh in mea pura viduitate et confirmo donacionem et concessionem per prefatum Robertum nuper virum meum Vincent capellano de libero hospitali Saneti Edmundi Regis et Martyris juxta pontem Doncastri⁹ commoditatibus in dicto scripto nostro specificatis. Et ulterius per presentem cartam meam Vincent do et concedo cum omnibus juribus proficuis et commoditatibus in predicto scripto con Vineent ad terminum vite sue modo et forma prout per prefatum Robertum Waterton nuper scripto expressatur volens et concedens Radulfo capellano cantarie in Sprotburg nomine et jure quantum in me est prefatum Robertum Vincent in dicto hospitali inde libet prout decet. In ejus rei testimonium presenti carte mee donacionis confirmacionis sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus Leone Domino de Welles Th Johanne et Roberto fratribus meis Willelmo Scargill Thoma Womwell Armigero Methlay die Veneris decimo nono die mensis Januarii Anno Domini millesimo et anno Regni Regis Henrici sexti post Conquestum Anglie tercio.

Hec subscripta noviter facta per Robertum Vincent in sua Cantaria juxta pontem Don . . .

In primis in choro j wyndow of stone iren and the makyng thereof.
j new auter, ij new auter clothes, j. new corporax with a case of grene damask.
ij new frontels with frenges of silk a for the haluyng of them.
ij tables new made and paynted, ij new ymages paynted.
ij new tabernacles to the ymages, ij base stones.
j new vestment of bordalesawndre,^a j new kyst for vestmentes, and j new
j newe canope with the box, new deskes, formes, and j new eelour in the p^{re}

In Corpore Ecclesie.

ij new auters with coveryng of borde, ijs. vjd.; iiij new ymages Katerin, Mathewe, Thomas, and William, with stones and the tabernacles, xiiij s.; j new wyndow made at Saynt Thomas auter, xij d.; j ne[w] tabill paynted with a crucifix, Mari and John; j new hynged laumpe, xij d.; j Christofer, ijs. iiij d.; new formes with the makyng, iij s. iiij d. Also Mari and Mighel ; j new elok with all the pertenance, xxiiij s.; j new dore made into the gardyn, xvij for gystes, plauñch,^b stoghes,^c and nayles; j new grece^d to the chamber within the kyrk new dore; j new stone wyndow made in the same chaumbre.

^a An eastern fabric. It probably took its name from the city of Alexandria. Raine, *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, 338. Peacock, *Eng. Church Furnit.* 182.

^b Planks.

^c Stooths. Pieces of wood used to make the framework of plaster partitions. The word is still in use.

^d A step, or perhaps flight of stairs. "Grece or tredyl or steyre, gradus." *Prompt. Parv.* i. 209.

In the Parlor.

j new chimnay^a of lyme and stone with ij harthes and a doubill pype, iij li.; one new plauñch to the chaumber above the parlor, iij s.; j new stone wyndow half glas, iij s. iij d.; new boukes; j new lavatory, ij s.; j new Almary, vj s. Sum total .

In the Chaumber over the Parlor.

v grete new gystes; v grete new cupils; ij walplates with the in the stone thake,^b xvij s.; j new dore, xij d.; j new grece, xij d.; ij thak stones and thekyng ther of, xvij s.; j new wyndow glased thet one half, iij s.

Also j new kechrn with a littill a lede, a synke, and alle the tymbir in

Also in dikyng^c and wode setting aboute the grete medow vj s. viij d. In making of a drawell, palissyng^d gate, making a wall, the place, xij s. iij d. In cleansing and ekyng^e of the grate ponde and making of

Apud Neuton.

ij lath endes new made, iij li.; ij new chambers and the endes spensis, dores, wyndowes, garners, and j privey, iij li. x s.; and basyng and mendyng of an ouchote^f of the . . . iij s. iij d. Also wallyng, thekyng, dawlyng, nalyng at the other two Also in all costages for makyng of a new house by the and in all thingis

[In another hand.]

Also by hyc ferete^g for pavyng of xij rode, the stone new boght and eich new

Also for makyng of iij new arches, the sydes of new hewyn stone with tymber aboue . . . under the arches with grete

freestone iustly semed and with rugh sto

ffor pavyng, wallyng, by the dyke sides in the ank

Also for the marig of amay of my kyn^h in all thynk

Also makyn vij new bellys

Also j new chalys xxiiij s. and medyng of an old messe boke

Also to the makyng of ij new belles at Sprotburgh.

^a In documents of this age chimney is usually understood to signify not the flue for carrying away the smoke, but the iron grate in which the fire burned. We have evidence here of its use in the modern meaning.

^b The rough thin Yorkshire flags with which many of the houses and churches in that neighbourhood are still covered.

^c Making ditches or cleansing them. The word is still common.

^d Paling gates, *i.e.* nailing thin perpendicular pales over the horizontal framework.

^e Enlarging.

^f Outshot.

^g A shrine, *feretrum*.

^h "The marriage of a maiden of my kin" seems meant, but why entered in this account?

XX.—*On a Chalice and Paten belonging to the Parish Church of Nettlecombe, in the county of Somerset, with Remarks on Early English Chalices. By OCTAVIUS MORGAN, Esq. M.P., V.P., Local Secretary for Monmouthshire.*

Read December 2nd, 1869.

THE remarkably beautiful Chalice and Paten which I had the pleasure of being able to obtain for exhibition at one of the Society's meetings^a belong to the church of the parish of Nettlecombe, in Somersetshire. They are objects of very great interest, not only from their beauty but also from their antiquity, and the very perfect condition in which we now see them; and this interest is greatly enhanced by the fact of their being of English manufacture, and some of the very earliest remaining examples of English goldsmith's work. In addition to this we have some curious documentary evidence of the manner in which they were preserved, and so have come down to our time.

The chalice and paten are of silver gilt. Their forms are elegant; both were originally ornamented with enamels, and, although they have been in use for many centuries, they have sustained but little injury. The chalice (see Plate XXI.) stands very nearly six inches high. The bowl is in form between a cone and a hemisphere, that is, the bottom is broad and round, whilst the sides continue straight and conical, a form which is rather indicative of its date. This bowl is supported on a hexagonal stem, divided into two portions by the knop, which is a beautiful piece of goldsmith's work, formed by the projection from the angles of the stem of six short square arms, each terminating in a lion's mask, or in proper heraldic language "a leopard's head," and having the intermediate spaces filled up with elegant flowing Gothic tracery of pierced open-work (see *a*, Plate XXI.). The lower part of the stem rests on a curved hexagonal foot, being united to it by Gothic mouldings, and the foot terminates in an upright basement moulding, which is enriched with a small vertically reeded band. One of the six compartments of the foot was ornamented, as is usual in ancient chalices,

^a See *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 382.

by a representation of the Crucifixion. The metal of this compartment has been cut out, and a silver plate engraved with the Crucifixion has been rudely riveted in (see *b*, Plate XXII. and *c*, Plate XXI.). This silver plate is, I think, the original work, and it was formerly enamelled—for it would probably have been found easier and more convenient to prepare the enamel on a small separate plate, and then fix it in its place, than to have subjected the whole chalice to the heat of the enameller's furnace, which must have been the case had the enamel been done on the foot itself. The silver plate is deeply engraved, or rather the metal is tooled out to receive transparent enamel in the style of the work of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century, and small traces of the enamel with which it has been filled may still be discovered. Its present condition may perhaps be explained by a tradition which still lingers in the parish, that a certain churchwarden took the enamel for dirt, and carefully picked it out in order to restore the silver to, as he thought, its proper brightness. It will be at once seen that the design was made for the place, from the peculiar attitude of the figure, the arms being drawn up over the head, to adapt it to the form of the compartment.

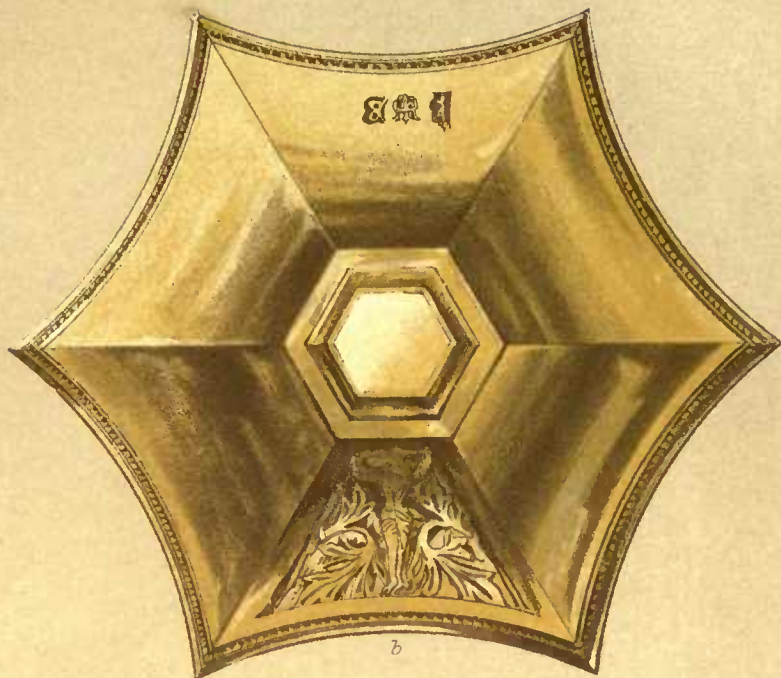
The paten (see Plate XXII.) is $4\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter, with a narrow moulded edge and a brim like an ordinary plate, within which is sunk a six-lobed depression. The centre points from which the workman formed the lobes are still visible, and the spandrels between the lobes are filled with a small radiating ornament as is usual in similar early patens, which are not unfrequently met with. In the centre is a still further depression, in which has been inserted from the back a small silver plate having, in transparent enamel sunk in the metal, a representation of the vernacle or face of our Saviour surrounded by a cruciform nimbus. This has fortunately escaped the manipulations of the churchwarden, and remains perfect. This central depression with an inserted plate of enamel is very unusual, the surface of patens being usually made as smooth as possible. The back of this small plate is gilt, and engraved with the sacred monogram *ihc* in black-letter character of the fifteenth century (see *a*, Plate XXII.).

Both these pieces of plate have the English hall marks very clearly and distinctly stamped upon them, which gives us information as to their age; but, from circumstances which I shall mention, not quite so precise as we could wish. These marks are three—no more being then in use. The first is the leopard's head crowned, indicating that the articles had been assayed by the Goldsmiths at their hall and found of correct standard. The second, being the maker's mark, is a dimidiated fleur-de-lis. Every goldsmith or worker in gold and silver



CHALICE BELONGING TO NETTLECOMBE CHURCH.

a Profile of Knop. *b* Hall-mark. *c* Plate inserted in the Foot.



was required by Statute to have a distinct mark or sign of his own by which his work could be identified. The first is the annual letter, by which the year when the piece of plate was made might be ascertained, so that if it should turn out that the silver was below the proper standard, and had passed the assay of the Goldsmiths' Company, it might be known who was warden of the Company that year when a fine assay was made; whilst the maker's mark would indicate the goldsmith who had made the fraudulent article. Some years ago I paid much attention to this subject, and through the kindness of the Goldsmiths' Company, who showed me to examine their ancient records, and the inspection of very many pieces of ancient plate, I was enabled to construct a set of tables showing the series of annual letters used from the earliest period of their fabrication. These tables formed part of a series of papers written by me on the subject, and published in the *Archæological Journal* in 1853. The arrangement was that a certain alphabet was taken and continued for a period of twenty years, and before introducing a year in the expiration of the twenty years another alphabet was adopted, usually of a different character, and so on for each succeeding twenty years, and the practice so continued to the present day—thus, when the character of the alphabet is known, there is usually little difficulty in ascertaining the year in which any piece of plate marked with a letter was made. These alphabets, in course of twenty years, commenced in 1438, when the system, which now is almost obsolete, seems to have first been introduced. The annual letter, and of course the alphabets, were almost changed on the 29th of May, St. Barnaby's Day, when the wardens of the Goldsmiths' Company was elected and delivered the new punches to the Assay Master, so that each letter indicates the period between the 29th May in one year to the same day in the year succeeding, in fact a portion of two civil years, which is sometimes an important fact, as it in many cases causes the date of an inscription to agree exactly with the date of the make.

The earliest known marked piece of English plate is the celebrated spoon of Henry VI., now preserved at Herby Castle, in Westmorland, and it bears the Lombardic letter *h*, showing that it must have been made in the period between the 29th of May 1445 and 29th May 1446. The first alphabet, ranging from 1438 to 1458, was, as has been said, Lombardic, for which that spoon is the authority. Of the second alphabet, from 1458 to 1478 I have found no instance, and know not what was the character; from 1478 to 1498 the character was again Lombardic, but with the peculiarity that the letters were disposed both outwards and inwards; and the next alphabet was black letter minuscule. The



was required by statute to have a distinct mark or sign of his own by which his work could be identified. The third is the annual letter, by which the year when the piece of plate was made might be ascertained, so that if it should turn out that the silver was below the proper standard, and had passed the assay of the Goldsmiths' Company, it might be known who was warden of the Company that year when a false assay was made; whilst the maker's mark would indicate the goldsmith who had made the fraudulent article. Some years ago I paid much attention to this subject, and, through the kindness of the Goldsmiths' Company, who allowed me to examine their ancient records, and the inspection of very many pieces of ancient plate, I was enabled to construct a set of tables showing the series of annual letters used from the earliest period of their adoption. These tables formed part of a series of papers written by me on the subject, and published in the *Archæological Journal* in 1853. The arrangement was this: A certain alphabet was taken and continued for a period of twenty years, each letter indicating a year; at the expiration of the twenty years another alphabet was adopted, usually of a different character, and so on for each succeeding twenty years, and the practice is continued to the present day—thus, when the character of the alphabet is known, there is usually little difficulty in ascertaining the year in which any piece of plate marked with a letter was made. These alphabets, or cycles of twenty years, commenced in 1438, when the system, which was of foreign origin, seems to have been first introduced. The annual letters, and of course the alphabets, were always changed on the 29th of May, St. Dunstan's Day, when the new warden of the Goldsmiths' Company was elected and delivered the new punches to the Assay Master, so that each letter indicates the period between the 29th May in one year to the same day in the year succeeding, in fact a portion of two civil years, which is sometimes an important fact, as it in many cases causes the date of an inscription to agree exactly with the date of the make.

The earliest known marked piece of English plate is the celebrated spoon of Henry VI., now preserved at Hornby Castle, in Westmoreland, and it bears the Lombardic letter *h*, showing that it must have been made in the period between the 29th of May 1445 and 29th May 1446. The first alphabet, ranging from 1438 to 1458, was, as has been said, Lombardic, for which that spoon is the authority. Of the second alphabet, from 1458 to 1478, I have found no instance, and know not what was the character: from 1478 to 1498 the character was again Lombardic, but with the peculiarity that the letters were cusped both outwards and inwards; and the next alphabet was black letter minuscule. The

annual letter on the chalice and paten is a Lombardic B, of which the bows or loops rather appear to be cusped outwards, but being minute there is some difficulty in pronouncing with certainty (see *b*, Plate XXI.) This letter can, however, only indicate one of three years—1439, 1459, or 1479. The form of the cup and the enamel work point, I think, to a date earlier than 1479, and I am therefore disposed to fix its date at 1459, though it might possibly be twenty years earlier, viz., 1439. In either case its interest is great, as, if of the later date, it will tend to fix the character of the wanting alphabet, and will be the second earliest piece of known English plate, or if it should be of the previous cycle it will then rank as the earliest extant example of English goldsmith's work.

We now come to the history of these ancient pieces of church plate. The church of Nettlecombe stands close by Nettlecombe Court, the ancient ancestral seat of Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, Bart. F.S.A., whose forefathers have for centuries dwelt there. To him and to the Rev. Hugh W. Jermyn, Rector of Nettlecombe, we are indebted for the exhibition of the chalice and paten. The Nettlecombe estates, according to Collinson, originally belonged to a family named de Raleigh, of which the last male heir, named Simon, succeeded his brother John in the possession of them. This Sir Simon Raleigh is stated to have been in Spain with the Duke of Lancaster, 10 Rich. II., 1387, and he must then have been of age. He was at Agincourt in 1415. Having vested some of his estates in trustees on condition that they should raise the sum of £10 a-year for the maintenance of a priest to perform divine service in the Chapel of St. John Baptist on the south side of the parish church at Nettlecombe, (and this service was continued, as we see by the churchwardens' accounts, to the time of the Reformation,) he died 12th March 1440, when he must have been at least seventy-five years old. On his death without issue his estates descended to his nephew Thomas Whalesborough, whose only daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, became the wife of Sir John Trevelyan, Knt., a member of an ancient and eminent Cornish family, whose descendants have ever since held the estates. Sir John Trevelyan probably came into possession about the middle of the fifteenth century, and it is by no means unlikely that he should have presented to the church the chalice and paten the date of whose make will well bear out the supposition. This is, however, simply a conjecture.

Previous to the Reformation the plate and other valuable utensils employed in the celebration of divine service were in no danger; but in the reign of Edward VI. the parishioners of Nettlecombe seem to have had some fears as to the safety of their chalice and other articles of value. The churchwardens' books and

accounts in that parish date back as early as 1507, and they have most fortunately been preserved. They contain many curious particulars; and certain entries—made, as I am told, not in a regular book but on loose sheets of paper—inform us especially of the manner in which they contrived to preserve their chalice and other valuable articles—for among the accounts are found the following documents or memoranda, of which the orthography is somewhat curious as well as uncertain :—

“Be yt knowyng unto all men that we pysners of Nyttylcoñi have delivered unto Master John Trevelyā Esquyer, on the xxvijth day of Januerye yn the yere of the Rayne of Kyng Edward the Syxte, the secunde yere of hys Rayne (1549), one challes w^t a paxe of sylver and a Pyxe of sylver gyltyde, and a Calopynne, w^t iij bells of sylver gyltyde w^{yn} the same pyxe, at all tymes at ther nede to be had of the aforesaid Mast^r John Trevelyā Esquyre.—By me, John Trevelyan.”

In another copy of the same, not signed, the description runs—“One challys w^t a paxe of Sylver gylted, one Callopyne, w^t iij byllys of sylver gyltyd w^{yn} the same, at all tymes at ther nede to be had of the aforesayd Mast^r John Trevelyan Esqueare the yelder of Nettelcombe, nowe ther p^sent.”

In another note dated 21st December, 4th year of Edward VI. (1551):—“M^d. That doth remayne yn the handdes of Mast^r John Trevelyan Esqueare, a Coddereng not used of the pysche, but to be delevered unto the pysche at al tymes to ther nedde and callyng for the sayed Codderenge.”

The articles mentioned in this document as delivered to Master John Trevelyan are a chalice, a pax of silver gilt, a pyx of silver gilt, a calopynne of silver gilt with three bells either within it or within the pyx, and a “coddereng.” The chalice is most probably that which we have seen. No mention is, however, made of a paten, but it is possible that the silver-gilt paten belonging to the chalice may have been called by the churchwarden, or other writer of the note in question, a pax; and, having the vernacle represented on it in enamel, may, in a small country place, have been used as a pax. This, however, is contrary to usage; and as no paten is mentioned in the document, though one clearly belonging to the chalice is preserved, and as although a pax has been mentioned none has been preserved, I think we may fairly conclude that the writer of the document has by mistake called the paten a pax.

By a pyx is usually understood a box or covered vessel to contain and keep the wafer-breads for the Holy Sacrament; but the term also means a box or casket, and if, as it here seems to be stated, the chalice, pax, calopynne with the three bells, were all or any of them to be contained within “the same pyx,” this must

have been of large size, and could hardly have been only such a vessel as was used for the purpose of holding the wafer-breads.

The word "*calopynne*" had long puzzled me, and I have never been so fortunate as to meet with any one who could give me information on the subject, nor do I correctly understand whether the three silver-gilt bells were part of this object. In Dart's "*History of Canterbury*," however, I find in the list given of the church utensils belonging to the cathedral this phrase, "*Item duo calepugni de cupro deaurato*," which I take to mean two hand-warmers, from *caleo*, to be warm, and *pugnus*, a fist or closed hand. Such articles were used in the church for the purpose of keeping warm the hands of the celebrant priest, for fear of any awkward accident arising from the coldness of his fingers whilst handling the sacred elements and vessels. They were formed of a hollow ball of metal, to contain a heater of hot metal, glowing charcoal, or, possibly, a small lamp, supported in the middle on double gimbals, like a mariner's compass, so as to preserve it always in the same position, in the centre, whichever way the ball might be turned; the surface of the ball being pierced to let the warmth pass out, and admit air if necessary. Such an utensil is figured in the early editions of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and there called a "*rolling lamp*." These articles were in France called "*pommes chauffrettes*," or "*pommes à chauffer les mains*." Several instances of them are given in M. de Laborde's Glossary, appended to his Catalogue of the Enamels, &c., in the Louvre. One instance, taken from an inventory of the date of 1502, describes the object, and is quite in point—"Pomum (argenteum) forutum in plerisque locis, habens receptaculum etiam argenteum, in quo poni solet ferreum candens, ad calefaciendas manus sacerdotis in tempore Hyemali." I am therefore very much disposed to consider the mysterious word *calopynne* to be a corruption and mis-spelling of the word *calepugnus*.

The three bells may have been the sacring bell used to give notice of the elevation of the Host. They may have been separate bells or three small ones fixed in a semi-globular frame, such as now used by the acolytes in Roman Catholic places of worship on the continent, and probably also in this country, or it is possible that they may have been small globular bells fixed within the *calopynne*. This, however, is only a surmise.

In the last entry on the 21st December, 1550, 4th Edward VI. we find mention made of an article in the keeping of Master John Trevelyan, called a "*coddereng*." I am altogether at a loss to conjecture what this can be. It is doubtless the name of some well-known article intelligible in itself, but utterly disguised by

defective orthography, for the word occurs twice in the same sentence, and is differently spelt each time—indeed, throughout the whole of the churchwardens' accounts, the spelling is so strange and irregular that the same word is rarely written twice alike in the same sentence.

This “coddereng” in 1551 was left in the hands of Master John Trevelyan as “not used of the parish,” and was therefore probably some article not necessarily employed in the performance of divine service.

By these entries in the accounts we learn that the chalice and other valuable articles of the church utensils were made over to or placed in the custody of Master John Trevelyan, on condition that they should be forthcoming when wanted for use by the parishioners, in anticipation as it were of the commissions which might and which actually did issue; for we find that in 1552 a commission was issued by King Edward VI. to the Marquis of Northampton and others for a survey of church plate, and the instructions to the Commissioners were, that they should “visit churches, chapels, fraternities, or guilds, and cause due inventories to be made of all goods, plate, jewels, and ornaments, and give good charge and order that the same goods should be at all times forthcoming, leaving nevertheless in every parish church or chapel one, two, or more chalices or cups, according to the multitude of the people in every church or chapel.”

Burnet also informs us that shortly before the death of Edward VI. (in 1553), visitors were appointed “to examine what church plate, jewels, and other furniture was in cathedrals and churches; and because the King was resolved to have churches and chapels furnished with that which was comely and convenient for the administration of the Sacraments, they were to give one or more chalices of silver to every church, chapel, or cathedral, as their discretion should direct them, and to distribute comely furniture for the Communion-table, or for surplices, and to sell the rest of the linen and give it to the poor, and to sell copes and altar-cloths, and deliver all the rest of the plate and jewels to the King's treasurer.”

When therefore any Commissioners or visitors came down, the church at Nettlecombe had no return to make. “*Nulla bona*” would be the simple reply, the articles in question being no longer their own, nor in their own keeping; and this ingenious arrangement could very easily be made, inasmuch as Master John Trevelyan was patron of the benefice, and the church was close adjoining to his ancient manor house; and to this manœuvre we are indebted for the preservation of these very interesting and beautiful articles.

The ancient chalices and patens which were in use before the Reformation are not of common occurrence, though in small rural parishes it is probable that

more may be found than we are aware of. But the olden chalices are fast disappearing, the clergymen and churchwardens frequently preferring the look of a large new chalice to the original smaller cups of earlier and more simple form; and I have frequently seen many of the earliest Protestant chalices of the time of Elizabeth in the windows of silversmiths' shops, sent up and sold or exchanged for the value of the metal, whereas the silversmiths have resold them to the curious in old plate at very high prices. I possess photographs of another chalice, similar to that described, which still exists, belonging to the parish of Combe-pyne, not far distant from Nettlecombe. It is not, however, in its original state, the stem having been altered by the removal of the knop, and the upper and lower portions of it joined by a modern band. There are small feet attached to each of the angles of the original hexagonal base, but I think from their style they can hardly be original; if they are, they indicate a late date. In February 1867* a chalice from West Drayton was exhibited to the Society, which seemed to have once had similar feet attached to it, but which had been removed. The bowl had a projecting lip and was bell-mouthed, which shows a very late date, and the hall-mark indicates the beginning of the sixteenth century, but of the precise year I have no note.

Before closing this paper it may be as well to say a few words on ancient chalices: First, as to the material; and, secondly, as to the form. Various substances have been used for the bowls of chalices, such as glass, crystal, agate, or other precious stones, but these substances were at an early period forbidden to be used, as liable to get broken by reason of their brittleness. Horn was forbidden as a material for chalices on account of its being an animal substance and therefore formed by blood, and wood on account of its porous nature as absorbing the wine and not easily cleaned, and only gold and silver were ordered to be employed, though tin and pewter were allowable in very poor places. In cases where the other part of the chalice is of inferior metal the bowl is always of silver. The only chalice which I know of, of which the bowl is not of metal, is the famous chalice in the sacristy of the cathedral of Monza, of which the bowl is formed of a large block of sapphire—or at least said to be so. It is now very many years since I have seen it, but, as far as my recollection goes, it is of much too dark a colour to be a real sapphire, and looks more like a piece of ancient dark-blue glass; and this is more likely, as the true sapphire is never found in such large crystals or masses, and it must have been a prodigious mass to have

* See *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 447.

made this cup, to say nothing of the extreme difficulty of hollowing out so hard a material, the hardest substance in nature next to the diamond, and I cannot help thinking that a mistake has been made between the words *zaffiro*, the precious stone, and *zaffera*, the zaffir of commerce—a dark blue vitreous substance made of powdered flints and the oxyde of cobalt, which gives it its colour.

Now, as to the form: A chalice consists of three parts—the cup or bowl; the stem, which in its middle swelled into a bulb, called the knop; and the foot. The bowl itself was usually quite plain, in order that it might be more easily kept pure and clean. It was, however, occasionally mounted in an exterior cup or socket adorned with various ornamentations, which came about halfway up its entire height. The stem, knop, and foot were frequently ornamented with enamels, engravings, or chased work representing the emblems of the Passion or other sacred subjects; and on the foot, which was usually made hexagonal, to prevent the chalice from rolling, there was always a cross, which the priest kept towards himself at the time of celebration.

In the early days, when the Holy Sacrament was administered to the congregation in both kinds, the chalices appear to have been large two-handled bowls with a foot only; there was no need of a stem or knop, as the chalice was not to be grasped, but was presented to the mouths of the recipients by the priest, who held it by the two handles. A most remarkable and beautiful instance of such a chalice was found at Ardagh, in the county of Limerick, early in the present year, and exhibited by the Earl of Dunraven, both here in London, and, in the autumn, at the meeting of the Cambrian Archæological Association. The date of the ninth century has been attributed to it. These chalices are very rare, if this is not an unique example. It is most exquisitely ornamented all over, and especially underneath the foot, which part, when the chalice was presented by the priest to the recipient by the two handles, would be exposed to view.

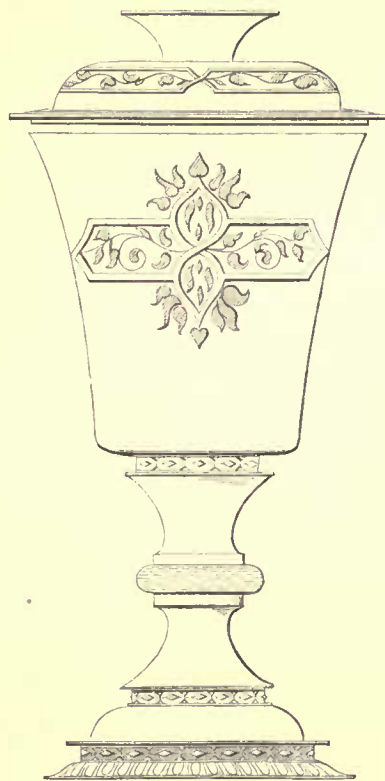
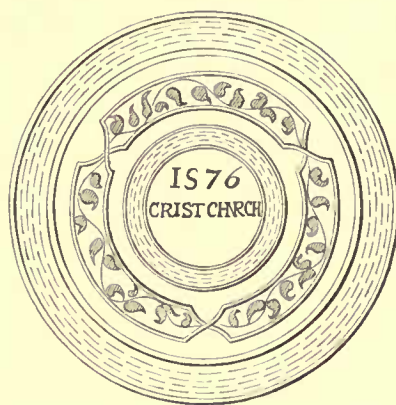
In the thirteenth century the chalices seem to have been short and low and the bowl wide and shallow, as exemplified by the celebrated chalice of St. Rémy, once at Rheims and now in the Bibliothèque Impériale, which is considered to be of the time of St. Louis, as also by the chalices of silver and pewter which have been found in the tombs of priests of that century.

In the fourteenth century they were made taller, the bowls assumed a decidedly conical form, being narrow at the bottom, and having the sides sloping straight outwards. In the fifteenth century they were usually made broader at the bottom with the sides still forming part of a cone, like that at Nettlecombe, till a form altogether hemispherical was assumed, of which the fine chalice of Leominster,

figured in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. p. 489, is a noble specimen. Of this type also is the chalice of Combepyne. This form afterwards changed to a bell-mouthed shape, with a projecting lip, like that of West Drayton, which brings us down to the sixteenth century.

On the establishment of the Protestant religion in England in 1558, by statute 1st Elizabeth, a new form of chalice was introduced for the use of the communicants of the Church of England, who, receiving the Sacrament in both kinds, required a larger cup. I have been unable to discover any authority or direction for the formation of these chalices, but the same form and the same ornamentation were introduced and adopted from one end of the kingdom to the other whenever new chalices were made, and they are to be found in every part of the country. The chalice still consisted of the same parts, bowl, stem, and foot, though I have known two instances in small parishes where the chalices consist of the cup only, without stem or foot. The stem, although altered in form and character, still swells out in the middle into a small knop, or the rudiments of one, and is occasionally ornamented with small bands of a lozenge-shaped ornament, or some other such simple pattern, and the foot is invariably round, instead of indented or angular. The form of the cup, however, is altogether changed, and, instead of being a shallow wide bowl, it is elongated into the form of an inverted truncated cone, slightly bell-shaped. The form of the paten is also much changed; the sunk part of the platter is often considerably deepened, the brim narrowed, and thereon is fixed a rim or edge, by which it is made, when inverted, to fit on the cup as a cover, whilst a foot is added to it, which serves also as a handle to the cover, as though it were intended to place the wine in the chalice and cover it with the paten cover, until the administration of the Sacrament, when the cover would be removed and used as a paten for holding the bread. On the bottom of the foot of the paten was a silver plate which almost always bears the date when it was made, and the name of the parish to which it belongs. The ornaments on all these chalices and paten covers, as they may be called, is invariably the same; it consists simply of an engraved band round the body of the cup and on the top of the cover, formed by two narrow fillets, which interlace or cross each other with a particular curvature, in every instance the same, the space between them being occupied by a scroll of foliage, and this ornament is marked by a total absence of letters, monograms, emblems, or figures of any kind. It is very curious how this exact uniformity of shape and ornament was so universally adopted, unless there had been some regulation or standard pattern to go by, but I have not been able to find any

such to guide the makers. I may mention a few good instances which I know of, amongst many others which I have seen. They are not uncommon in Monmouthshire and Herefordshire, but at Christchurch is one so perfect and in such good condition that it has been engraved in the *Archæological Journal*.^a At both Old and New Alresford, in Hampshire, are very good examples, and at Rodney Stoke, Mark, and Meare, in Somersetshire, there are also very fine chalices and patens of this kind, that at Mark being gilt; the dates of these range between 1560 and 1580, the hall marks agreeing with the engraved dates. This form of chalice was continued in many instances down to the Commonwealth, though the engraved ornaments were omitted. Sometimes they were of very large size, of which the chalices at St. James's church, Dover, are examples, especially the larger one, which will hold more than a quart. The history related of it is that it was given by the Earl of Northampton, Constable of the Castle, to the garrison church of the fortress, and when that fell to ruin it was sent down to St. James's, the parish church. On the bottom of the foot of the paten are engraved his arms, which seemed to confirm the history; but the annual letter indicated that the plate was made in 1632, and the Earl of Northampton died in 1614. Here was a discrepancy in the evidence of the article itself, the evidence of the engraved coat of arms being at variance with the annual letter, which I knew must be right. I put myself in communication with Mr. Albert Way, and on further examination it appeared that on the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham, in 1629, Theophilus Howard of Walden, second Earl of Suffolk, became Constable, and died in



^a *Arch. Journ.* ix. 290, whence the cut in the text is, with permission, reproduced.

1640, and the arms which he bore were the same as those borne by the Earl of Northampton; thus the arms and the date of the make of the plate both coincided, and it was clear that owing to the similarity of the arms a mistake had been made by the narrator of the history, and the liberal gift had been attributed to the wrong person, the Earl of Suffolk being in fact the real donor. The ancient church at the castle has, I think, been rebuilt or refitted of late years, and I hope the ancient chalice has been restored to it. Since the Restoration chalices and church plate, both here and elsewhere, have been made according to the prevailing taste and fashion of the day; and, though there is no peculiar distinctive character, any one experienced in such matters will generally be able to make an approximate guess at the period when any article was made, as well as by the examination of the hall-mark, which is the only certain and exact test.

XXI.—*Researches and Excavations carried on in an ancient Cemetery at Frilford, near Abingdon, Berks, in the years 1867-1868.* By GEORGE ROLLESTON, Esq. M.D. F.R.S. Linacre Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the University of Oxford.

Read January 23rd and May 14th, 1868.

THE paper which I have the honour of laying before the Society of Antiquaries was drawn up by me at the suggestion of J. Y. Akerman, Esq. F.S.A. and in the hope that it might serve as a continuation of his "Report of Excavations in an ancient Cemetery at Frilford, near Abingdon, Berks," which may be found in the Society's Proceedings for May 25, 1865.

During the years 1867 and 1868, I have, from time to time, by the kindness of William Aldworth, Esq. the owner of the soil, been allowed not only to watch such quarrying operations as have been carried on upon the site of this cemetery, but also to conduct some excavations there independently of that work. The results of my observations I have arranged under two heads. First, I have given an account of the objects and discoveries of a purely archæological character; and, secondly, I have specified the various conclusions to which my examinations of the very extensive series of human remains have seemed to me to point more or less doubtfully. Appended to this paper will be found, first, a detailed catalogue of all the very numerous objects, both of archæological and of anatomical interest, which the liberality of Mr. Aldworth has transferred to the University Museum; secondly, a tabular catalogue, giving in one view the number, the age, the stature, and the nationalities of the human remains; and thirdly, a *catalogue raisonnée* which presents a similar *coup d'œil* of the different objects of cardinal importance, which have served as fixed points for my various identifications.

Mr. Akerman's investigations had, as may be seen by referring to his paper already cited, led him to the conclusion that Roman or Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon interments were both alike to be found in the Frilford Cemetery, but that the majority of them belonged to the latter of the two nationalities. I

have, however, by the discovery of Anglo-Saxon cinerary urns placed superficially to the relicless graves of which Mr. Akerman speaks, been compelled to refer these inhumations to a period anterior to that of Pagan Saxondom, and to differ herein from the instructor from whom I have learned and to whom I owe so much. It is upon this discovery of Anglo-Saxon cremation urns, containing half-calcined human bones, and holding when discovered, relatively to relicless or all but relicless skeletons found in the ground below them, a position from 15 to 18 inches nearer the surface, that I rest almost the only conclusion to which I have ventured to come in opposition to Mr. Akerman's views. But it is hoped that a record of the somewhat extensive series of observations made in this cemetery during the last two years may serve to cast some light upon certain moot points upon which Mr. Akerman's investigations did not give him an opportunity of remarking.

The cemetery is situated in the angle intercepted between the left bank of the river Ock and the road leading from Frilford to Wantage. Frilford "Field" is now brought under cultivation, but the tradition that this portion of it is haunted still survives in the recollections of the rustics, one of whom informed me that, though he had never seen them there himself, ghosts were supposed to be particularly likely to be seen at a single thorn-bush^a which stood, some time back, close to the site of these graves. Great numbers of Roman coins have been and still are found by labourers engaged in ordinary agricultural work all round this spot; and fragments of very many varieties of Roman pottery are equally accessible, though, of course, much more abundant, on and in the superficial layers of the now cultivated fields. There is much other evidence to show that Roman civilization had taken firm root in this locality, and some of this evidence will appear in the course of my account of the excavations in the cemetery. But two excavations which we made in two spots, about a couple of hundred yards distant from the cemetery, gave us a more vivid idea of the wealth and civilization of the Roman

^a The growth of this thorn-bush may have been accidental here, but we know that thorns were purposely planted on tumuli. (See Jacob Grimm, *Verbrennen der Leichen*, Berlin Abhandl. 1849, pp. 203, 209, 242, 244; Nillson, *cit. in loc.*; Max Müller, *Zeitschrift Deutsch. Gesellsch. Morgenland*, ix. 11. Theocritus, Idyll xxiv. 87; where Wüstemann remarks in his commentary, "Omnibus spinarum generibus vim noxarum depellendarum inesse existimabant veteres." See also *Horæ Ferales*, p. 69). The neighbouring tumulus known as "Barrow Hill" is beset with thorn-bushes at the present day; and the British barrow of Dinnington, in South Yorkshire, on the estate of J. C. Athorpe, Esq. was similarly clothed. The thorn may have belonged to the "*certis lignis*" used, according to Tacitus, *Germania*, xxvii. in the cremation of chiefs.

or Romano-British inhabitants of the place, which their Saxon conquerors named Frilford, than anything which we found in the burial ground, which both races successively occupied. Mr. Aldworth had observed the greater greenness and strength of the crops upon these two patches of ground; and by his suggestion I dug into them with the result of finding,^a for a depth of ten feet or more, an aggregation of fragments of pottery of the most varied patterns and degrees of fineness mixed up with similarly fragmentary bones of the ox, sheep, pig, and dog, and with other articles, such as knives and coins, which, like the bones and shards specified, would be expected in the rubbish-heap of a great house. The site of this great house I have not found; but I strongly suspect that the quarry, whence the stones for its construction were taken, was employed for, and is now represented by, one or other, or both of those pits of rubbish. This short history illustrates the truth of a remark recently made by the Hon. W. O. Stanley^b as to the imperfection of "the investigation of sites and of dwellings in the early times;" but time and opportunity may enable me to supply this deficiency. In the meantime, the discovery in the cemetery of four interments in leaden coffins, and after the Roman fashion, so fully described by the Abbé Cochet,^c furnishes additional evidence as to the character of the civilization existing here in the times of the Later Empire, which the excavation of hypocausts and tessellated pavements might confirm, but cannot be thought necessary to complete.

Four other kinds of interment, one Romano-British and three Anglo-Saxon, have been observed and described in the following account of the excavations at Frilford. The Romano-British interments differ from those just mentioned merely in being of less expensive character; they constitute the greater part of all the interments I have examined at Frilford, and that they are Romano-British is, to omit for the present other evidence, proved by the fact that superficially to them in the soil I have found Anglo-Saxon urns containing burnt human bones, and belonging, therefore, to the first periods of Anglo-Saxondom in England. About half of the Anglo-Saxon interments discovered here were interments in the way of cremation; and of the various patterns of the urns several figures will be found in the plates illustrating this paper. The other half are cases of inhumation with the well-known Anglo-Saxon relics, and, in adopting inhumation, the Anglo-Saxons either dug shallow graves without regard to the points of the compass, independently of, though often superficially to, those of their conquered predecessors; or, secondly, they dug deeper graves pointing to or towards the East,

^a See Catalogue, *infra*, Sept. 24, 1868.

^b *Ancient Interments and Sepulchral Urns in Anglesea*, p. 19.

^c *Normandie Souterraine*, pp. 29, 30.

following thus Christian precedent both as to depth and as to direction, but diverging from the practice of the Romano-Britons in setting stones round the graves instead of protecting the body in a wooden or other coffin; and whilst doing this, they sometimes—all supposed scruples as to secondary interments^a notwithstanding—displaced one body, probably that of one of their predecessors, to make room for the corpse they were interring with the same orientation. I say it is probable that where an Anglo-Saxon skeleton is found to have displaced another set of remains, the primary interment was a Romano-British one, because I think it improbable that the half-heathen custom of interring with insignia should have been combined for a sufficiently long time with the Christian method of deep and oriented interment to allow of one body thus interred being sufficiently forgotten to be safely displaced. Burial with insignia was early discontinued by Christianised populations, except in the cases of distinguished personages ecclesiastical and temporal,^b and the Anglo-Saxons I have exhumed do not appear by their insignia to have belonged to either of these classes.

In all the inhumations which I have examined at Frilford, the bodies had been extended at full length, and in the cases of Romano-British burials more or less oriented. The fact that the deviation from orientation is usually towards the south may seem to indicate that the majority of deaths took place then, as now, in the winter-quarters of the year, when the point in the horizon at which the sun would rise would be south of east.^c

I. Of the Roman Interments in Leaden Coffins discovered at Frilford.

By a reference to Mr. Akerman's paper already quoted, it may be seen that two leaden coffins, each of which contained a skeleton, and one of which contained a coin of Constantine the Great also, were found in the Frilford cemetery in the autumn of 1864. The commencement of my researches in this cemetery dates from the discovery in it of a third and fourth coffin of similar character and

^a The Abbé Cochet in the first edition of his *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 185, had stated that "l'usage d'enterrer plusieurs fois aux même endroit est éminemment moderne;" but in the second edition of that work, pp. 209, 432, 436, and also in the *Tombeau de Childeric*, p. 55, he has receded from this untenable position. Grimm, towards the conclusion of his paper, *Ueber das Verbrennen der Leichen*, *ubi supra*, p. 269, quotes the words of Sidonius Apollinaris, "Jam niger cæspes ex viridi, jam supra antiquum sepulchrum glebæ recentes," to show that the practice was only too well known to the Christians of the later Roman Empire. See also Friedr. Simony, "*Die Alterthümer Halstatter Salzberg*," Wien, 1851.

^b See *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ii. 852.

^c Cf. Abbé Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine*, ed. i. pp. 192, 193, 255, 265.

contents to these, in the month of January, 1867. These interments were near to each other, ten feet only intervening between the foot of the one and the head of the other grave. The direction of the graves was 45° south of east, which, when corrected for the magnetic variation, would give E.S.E. as the true bearing. The coffins were at a depth of about five feet below the present surface of the soil, and this greater depth, as well as their greater intrinsic costliness, would seem to show that their tenants had been persons of greater wealth and consideration than the occupants of the similarly oriented graves of which we shall have to speak next. The length of the coffins is 6 feet 4 inches, and their breadth 1 foot 6 inches. Both of the coffins have undergone much mechanical change in the way of contortion and crushing, and they contrast herein to disadvantage with certain coffins of the same period in the British Museum, and in the Museum of Antiquities at York, which still retain the form which was conferred upon them at their manufacture.^a The Frilford coffins have also undergone much chemical change, the metallic lead having been changed both on their exterior and throughout their substance into the red oxide and carbonate, whereby they have suffered great loss of plasticity and flexibility. Each of them possessed a lid, which appears to have been simply laid upon the top of the rectangular coffin proper without any soldering. Large nails with square heads were found in relation with the coffin, and as woody fibre, shown by microscopic examination to be probably oaken, is still plainly enough to be detected upon the urn, even with the naked eye, it would seem that the leaden coffin had been surrounded by a wooden one.^b An analysis of the substance of these coffins, which I owe to the kindness of Heathcote Wyndham, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Merton College, shows that it contains 3.28 per cent. of tin, and that the coffins resemble in this, as in other particulars, those described by the Abbé Cochet in his *Normandie Souterr-*

^a The leaden coffins to be seen in the British Museum were dug up in Camden Gardens, Bethnal Green, in the excavations for the new Docks at Shadwell, and in Whitechapel. For the coffins in the York Museum, see Professor Phillips' *Yorkshire*, p. 247, and *Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities in York Museum*, by the Rev. C. Wellbeloved, p. 77, and his *Eburacum*, p. 112.

^b This conclusion rises to certainty almost when we read the account given by Ralph Thoresby, *Phil. Trans.* 1705, No. 296, p. 1864, of the excavation of a coffin, "probably interred 1500 years ago," which was seven feet long, and was "inclosed in a prodigious strong one made of oak planks, about two inches and a half thick, which, beside the riveting, were tacked together with brags and great iron nails . . . they are four inches long, the head not diewise, as the large nails now are, but perfectly flat and an inch broad." The length of the Frilford nails is four and a half inches, and the breadth of their heads one inch and a quarter. See also L'Abbé Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine*, ed. i. p. 30; *Archæologia*, vii. 376, 381. Bloxam's *Fragmenta Sepulchralia*, p. 89.

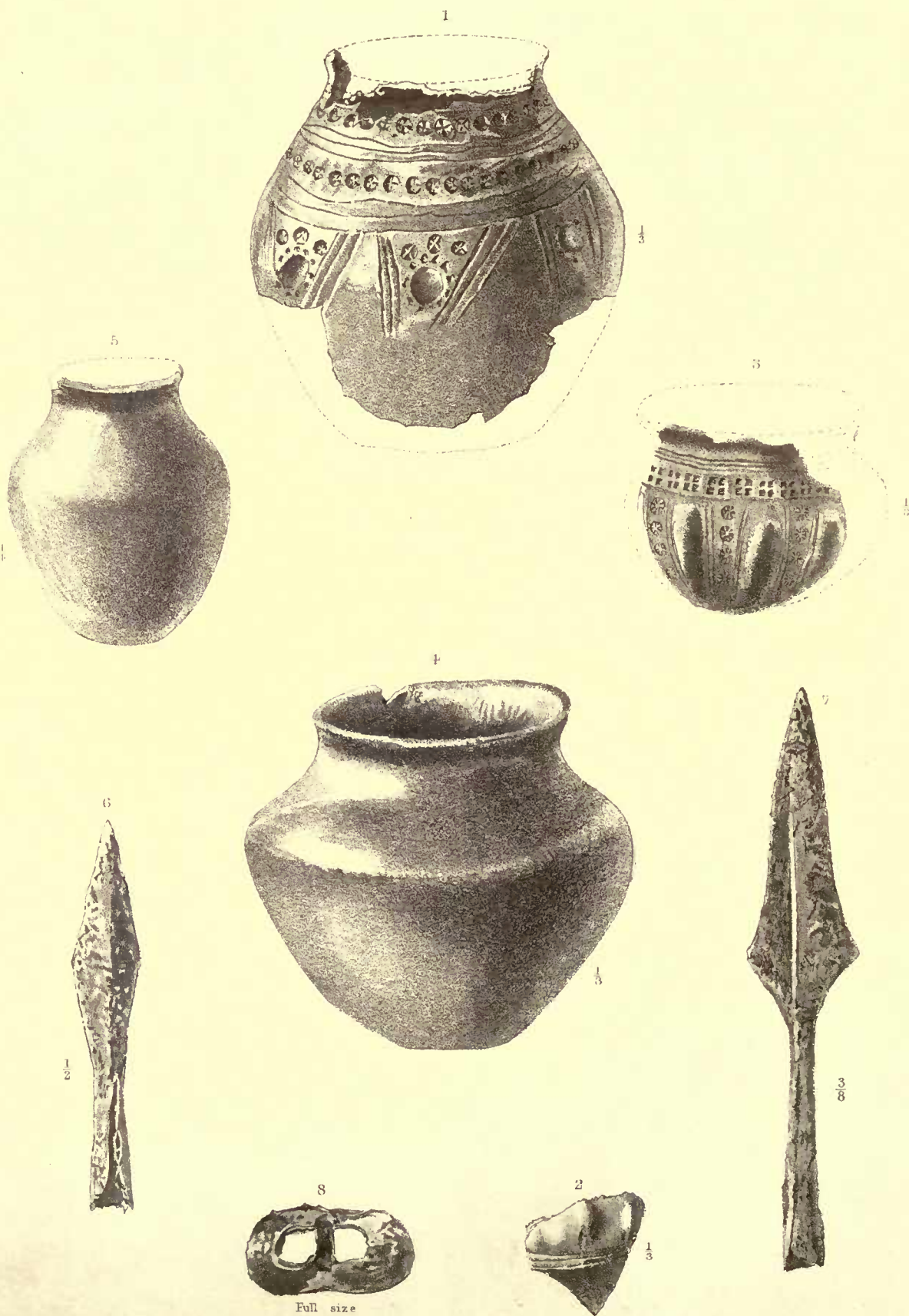
raine, pp. 28-31, as characteristic of the Gallo-Roman period in France. In each of these coffins was found the skeleton of a strong man, who was at the time of his death considerably past the middle period of life. Of the anatomical characters of these skeletons I shall have to speak in detail later; it is sufficient to say here that they show that the individuals to whom these bones belonged were strong men, in the possession of the means for culture and comfort which those days could afford, but who had also suffered much from the physical and other inclemencies which we know to be the natural incidents of the life of the soldier. In one of these coffins five coins were found, of which one was a coin of Constantine the Younger, another of Valens, and a third, which, like the first, was a third-brass specimen, was a coin of Gratian. By means of this last coin we are enabled to say that this interment took place, in all probability, within the short but eventful period which elapsed between the accession of Gratian and the evacuation of Britain by the Legions, inasmuch as the departure of the Romans may be reasonably supposed to have entailed the collapse of the civilization and customs which they had introduced and supported ^a

II. *Of the Roman or Romano-British Interments without leaden, but in most cases, probably, with wooden coffins, and in semi-oriented graves.*

The second and most numerous class of interments that we meet with in this cemetery are found occupying parallel, or nearly parallel, rows of trenches, running, to speak generally, from a point more or less north of west to one more or less south of east, and containing, very commonly, besides the skeletons, bones and teeth of domestic animals (though not in the great abundance noted in other Romano-British cemeteries), fragments of charcoal, oyster-shells, shards, flints, and nails, with woody fibre adhering to them. In some of these graves coins were discovered, in addition to the other objects just specified. Now, we are not justified by the presence of any, nor, indeed, by the presence of all, of these peculiarities, in concluding that any interment is Roman or Romano-British, the imitative^b tendencies of the Teutonic races having led

^a For a note of a discovery of leaden coffins in the neighbourhood of other Roman remains, see Schaafhausen, *Die Germanische Grabstätten am Rhein*, 1868, p. 131.

^b For the imitative tendencies of the Teutonic races generally, see Coote's *Neglected Fact in English History*, p. 44; Worsaae's *Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, Eng. Trans. 1849, p. 140; Engelhardt, *Denmark in the Iron Age*, Preface, p. viii.; Von Sacken, *Leitfaden zur Kunde des Heidnischen Alterthums*, p. 158; Wylie's *Fairford Graves*, p. 30; Merivale's *Conversion of the Northern Nations*, p. 92; Roach Smith, *British Assoc. Report for 1855*, p. 145. For the presence of bones of animals and their teeth in Anglo-



Full size

G. Crozier, del

them somewhat slavishly into copying the customs of the world they subdued, even in points relating to such matters as the burial of the dead. Each and all of the objects have been found all but indifferently in both Anglo-Saxon and Romano-British, in Frankish, and in Gallo-Roman graves. I was first convinced that these interments, more than fifty of which have been under examination at Frilford since I first became acquainted with the cemetery, contained the remains of Romano-Britons, and not of Anglo-Saxons, by the discovery of the unmistakeable Anglo-Saxon urn, figured Pl. XXIII. fig. 1, about fifteen inches above a skeleton occupying one of these graves (No. vi. Sept. 1867). Two other skeletons, one of an old woman interred with three coins (No. iv. Jan. 9, 1868), and one of an old man (No. iii. April 1, 1868) were found subsequently occupying the same position relatively to similar Anglo-Saxon urns containing similarly burnt human bones. It is possible, however, to object to this apparently satisfactory argument; first, that the deeper-lying body may have belonged to a Christianised, and the cremation urn to an apostate, Anglo-Saxon's burial; or, secondly, that the cremation urn belonged to an Anglo-Saxon funeral which took place in the heathen pre-Augustinian period, but that it was carefully replaced, after having been disturbed, to make room for one of the same race who had died after the evangelization of Berkshire by Birinus. Both these objections—the former suggested to me by Mr. Akerman, and the latter by the reading of Mr. Roach Smith's letter in the *British Association's Report for 1855*, p. 145,^a are, however, fully met by the discovery, on four different occasions, of Anglo-Saxon skeletons, verifiable as such by their insignia, and with no constant relation to the points of the compass, in the same relative position to these interments as that already described as being held by the cremation urns. (See *infra* Catalogue, No. xviii. February 8, 1868; No. ix. September 25, 1868, *infra*.) It is possible, though not probable, that an urn, even of the fragility and elegance of those figured, may have been replaced in its entirety, heavily laden though it was with its contents; but it is impossible to conceive that a similar pious painstaking can have laid out a disturbed skeleton a second time in the full and due proportions of the unarticulated bones possessed by

Saxon graves, see Wylie, *l.c.* p. 24; Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, Introd. p. xvii. For that of charcoal, Wylie, *l.c.* p. 29; Akerman, *Further Researches at Long Wittenham*, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix. For that of shards and flints, Douglas' *Nenia Britannica*, pp. 10 and 34; Wylie and Akerman, *l.c.* For that of the *Portorium*, Lindenschmit, *Archiv für Anthropol.* ii. 3, 1868, in review of Wanner's work, and in his own work, *Die Germanische Todtenlager beim Selzen*, p. 51; Von Sacken, *l.c.* p. 154; Akerman, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 165. See also Abbé Cochet, *Tombeau de Childeric*, *passim*, and *Normandie Souterr.* p. 31.

^a See also *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, Introd. p. xvi. and p. 8.

the skeletons found lying superficially to the "grave-row" interments of which I am speaking as Roman or Romano-British. The variation in the direction of the two bodies lying one above the other, the deeper being always the oriented one, excludes, of course, the possibility of their having been interred at the same time, as after a battle bodies are buried one above another in trenches. The funeral feast, and the visit to the burial-place of a beloved relative, will account sufficiently for the presence of the teeth and bones of the domestic ruminants, and the pig, in these graves. In the Romano-British cemetery at Helmingham in Suffolk, which I had an opportunity of examining through the kindness of the Rev. George Cardew, relics of this kind were more abundant than I have found them to be in the Frilford cemetery. Oyster-shells were found in considerable abundance in both these cemeteries, as the other indications of Roman occupation would have led us, *à priori*, to expect. I may perhaps here say, that it does not seem clear to me that any great probability attaches to an argument for the heathen character of an interment from the discovery there of such evidences of a funeral feast as the bones of domestic animals. The instinct so beautifully alluded to by Wordsworth, in his well-known poem "We are Seven," has in itself nothing repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, though the actual practice at the grave-side may and often did degenerate from that of the "little Cottage Girl"

Who took her little porringer
And ate her supper there.

Scandal arose out of the abuse of the funeral feast; but, inasmuch as the Church in all ages has acquiesced in the retention by newly-made converts of customs which, though heathen in origin, may not have been intrinsically immoral, it is easy to understand how a custom intrinsically laudable may have been tolerated when kept within due limits. As to the actual practice being rife amongst Christians^a the numerous denunciations and inhibitions issued relating to it afford very abundant evidence.

^a The following passages may be cited in addition to those so often referred to from the *Capitularies of Charlemagne*. In the collection of the Canons of the Greek Synods, by Martin Bishop of Braga in Portugal, who died in 580, we find the following words, "Non oportet, non liceat Christianis prandia ad defunctorum sepulchra deferre et sacrificari mortuis." See the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, where the passage is adopted as the text of Decretum Gratiani, De Consecr. dist. i. cap. 29, § 2, under the title *Ex Concilio Martini Papæ*. Hardouin, *Acta Conciliorum*, &c. 1611, iii. 390, has printed Martin of Braga's Collection, and, according to the margin of his edition, this particular canon comes from the third council of Arles, and not from a Greek source. See also Gretzer, *De Funere Christiano*, to which work I owe the foregoing quotation, lib. iii. pp. 159, 164, 166, ed. 1611, where Ambrose, Augustine, Cyprian,

A few bones of the dog and some teeth of the horse were found in some of the interments, but not in such numbers or positions as to make it at all probable that the former were the relics of a favourite animal interred with its master, or that the latter were remains which, in like manner, had been buried from similar, or from superstitious notions, or which had been the leavings of the practice of eating horseflesh which we know existed in those days in spite of the efforts of the Christian priests.^a

Fragments of carbonaceous matter are to be found in Romano-British as also in Anglo-Saxon and undoubtedly Pagan interments. It is a little hazardous to pronounce quite positively as to a piece of black woody tissue that it was put into the grave as charcoal; and that its blackness is not due to the "cremation," which it has been exposed to for so many hundreds of years. If, however, such matter be in masses of considerable size, which possess on fracture the peculiar lustre of charcoal, and if it have not been impregnated with any salt of iron or other mineral so as to have been preserved by such impregnation from the decay which would otherwise have befallen it, we are justified in considering it exceedingly probable that it was put into the grave in the condition either of yet burn-

Gaudentius, and Faustus the Manichee, may all be found deposing to the fact of the funeral feast being abused by the Christians into an occasion of great licence. I do not happen to have met with any evidence to show that food or drink was put into the graves of the *early* Christians from any influence which any pre-Christian belief may have had upon them as to its possibly being of some use to the departed in the new world. This superstition was of course operative in the case of heathens, and amongst certain of the Scandinavian races (see Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times*, p. 89) it has lasted even down to our own times. Weinhold tells us (*Altnordisches Leben*, p. 493) that the tobacco-pipe, pocket-knife, and filled brandy flask were placed in Swedish graves (it is to be supposed only in remote districts), if not up to the present time, at all events up to the beginning of the present generation. Heathen customs, however, and customs as markedly heathen as cremation, retained their vitality to a very late period in the Baltic regions. (See for this *Grimm, loc. cit.*; Wylie, *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 467; and Lindenschmit, *Alterth. heidnisch. Vorzeit*, heft ii. bd. ii. ad taf. vi., for long persistence of heathen customs amongst the Alemanni. See also Wylie, *Graves of Alemanni*.)

^a For the interment of favourite animals with their masters, see Von Sacken, *Heidnisches Alterthum*, 1865, p. 155; Weinhold, *Sitzungsberichte Phil. Hist. Klass. Akad. Wien*, bd. 29, p. 203, 1859. The bones of a large dog were found at Long Wittenham in a Romano-British interment so near to certain human remains as to make it seem possible that the animal had been purposely so placed. For the burial of the horse (*Das Trauer-Pferd*) in Teutonic graves, and those of other races, see Keysler, *Antiq. Select.*, 1720, p. 168; Wylie, *Graves of the Alemanni*; *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi. *ibique citata*; Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 298. For the suspension of the skull of the horse over graves, see *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 23. For the practice of eating horse-flesh, see *Confessional of Archbishop Egbert*, c. 38; the Decrees of Council held A.D. 785, under the presidency of Gregory, Bishop of Ostia; and *Penitential of Theodore*, c. xxx. s. 17. See also Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, p. 115, and Keysler, *l. c.* p. 322, 340. Pearson, *History of England*, i. 138.

ing embers, or of charcoal. The test mentioned by the Abbé Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 198 ed. i. (p. 229 ed. ii.), for differentiating charcoal from decayed wood, viz. that the latter gives a sherry colour on boiling with potash, is a little unsatisfactory, inasmuch as the purest charcoal would give a similar reaction after being surcharged and sopped through and through for ages with water, more or less laden, *ex hypothesi*, with impurities. Without losing sight of the possibility that blackened woody matter may be the remnants of a coffin, it is well to consider the different explanations which may be given of the presence of true charcoal in an interment. Four such have been given, two of which refer the practice to the operation of Christian beliefs; the third refers it to the working of feelings which are neither distinctly Christian nor yet distinctly heathen; whilst the fourth explanation is applicable to heathen interments only. The two first explanations may be expressed in two separate utterances of Durandus, the first being the often quoted one, vii. c. 35, as to the placing of embers and incense, *prunæ cum thure*, in the grave; and the second, a few lines further on, speaking of a Christian practice of placing charcoal in the grave to serve there as an imperishable protest against using the soil of the grave thereafter for secular purposes, “in testimonium quod terra illa in communes usus amplius redigi non potest; plus enim durat carbo sub terra quam aliud.” The third of the four explanations refers the presence of charcoal in the graves to the holding of feasts by their side in replacement of the pagan sacrifices of former times. The fourth explanation refers us to the overt and recognized performance, or to the stealthy continuance of the eminently heathen practice of burning the body or of lighting a fire in the grave to prepare it for the reception of the corpse. Any one or all of the three first explanations are admissible in the case of the Romano-Britons; the fourth may very probably apply to the interments of the half-converted or apostatising Anglo-Saxons, to whose history we shall return.^a

We are, from our recollections of the classical allusions to the *naulus* or *poritorium*, strongly tempted to think that the placing of coins upon the corpse must have been a distinctively heathen practice. A curious passage which I came upon in Martene's great work (*De antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, ii. 374) has caused

^a For the discovery of carbonaceous matter in graves, see Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine*, ed. i. pp. 198, 255, 256, 304; Kemble, *Horæ Ferales*, pp. 98, 104; Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 29; *Graves of Alemanni*, p. 13; Schaafhausen, *Germanische Grabstätten am Rhein*, 1868, p. 104; Walder, *Anzeiger für Schweiz. Alterthum*, March 1869, p. 32. For the discovery of fragments of charcoal scattered throughout the entire mass of heathen tumuli, see Keller, *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, bd. iii. p. 66. For the use of charcoal as being imperishable see Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xxi. 4.

me to attach importance to the fact that, in two of the interments I have examined here, the number of the coins interred was five. One of these interments was the first of the two in leaden coffins described already, and the other was an interment of the class of which I am now writing, and will be found in the appended catalogue under the number xxiv. of Feb. 21, 1868. Martene's words are, "Addit anonymus Turonensis:—Quidam sortilegi contra fidem agentes ponunt *quinque solidos* super pectus mortui, et in hoc imitantur morem gentilium qui in ore mortui ponebant denarium 'ut habeat quem porrigat ore trientem.'" I am not aware of any explanation having been offered for the selection of *five* as the number of the coins which the *gentiles*, or those who imitated them, placed in the grave. But such a passage as the one just quoted does not, even when taken by itself, justify us in considering an interment with coins to have been always an interment without the rites of the Christian church. Many persons act *contra fidem* and *imitantur morem gentilium*, whom, for historical purposes at least, we must consider to be Christians. As probably in the case of placing of charcoal in the grave, so, certainly, in that of the placing of coins there, the Church exercised a wise toleration, protesting, it may be, more or less directly, by the introduction of such sentences as those which our burial service contains, against the thought that we can take anything with us out of the world, but acquiescing in the actual repetition and continuance of the custom. Just as the custom of placing earthen vessels in tombs has survived down almost to our own time in remote districts such as La Bresse and Morvan in France (see Cochet, *Archéologie Céramique*, p. 1, 1860), so that of placing coins on the mouth and chest of the corpse is persisted even to the present day in parts of the country similarly remote from the great centres of life. The fact, however, that money to the amount of no less than three hundred pieces of Roman coinage was placed in the tomb of Childeric is more conclusive than any mere speculation from the analogies furnished by ancient or modern times. A kindly instinct induced persons, who probably enough had never heard of Charon, to bury with their deceased friend or relative that which they knew him or her to have valued most, and the presence of coin in a grave may convey thus to us a satire upon the departed, which it was never intended to hint at. The Abbé Cochet seems to me^a to lay too much stress upon "la coutume Chrétienne de rendre à la terre les hommes nus comme ils y sont entrés." For this principle would have prevented the burial with ornaments,^b of which, however, we are

^a *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 194. See also Keysler, *Antiq. Select.* p. 174.

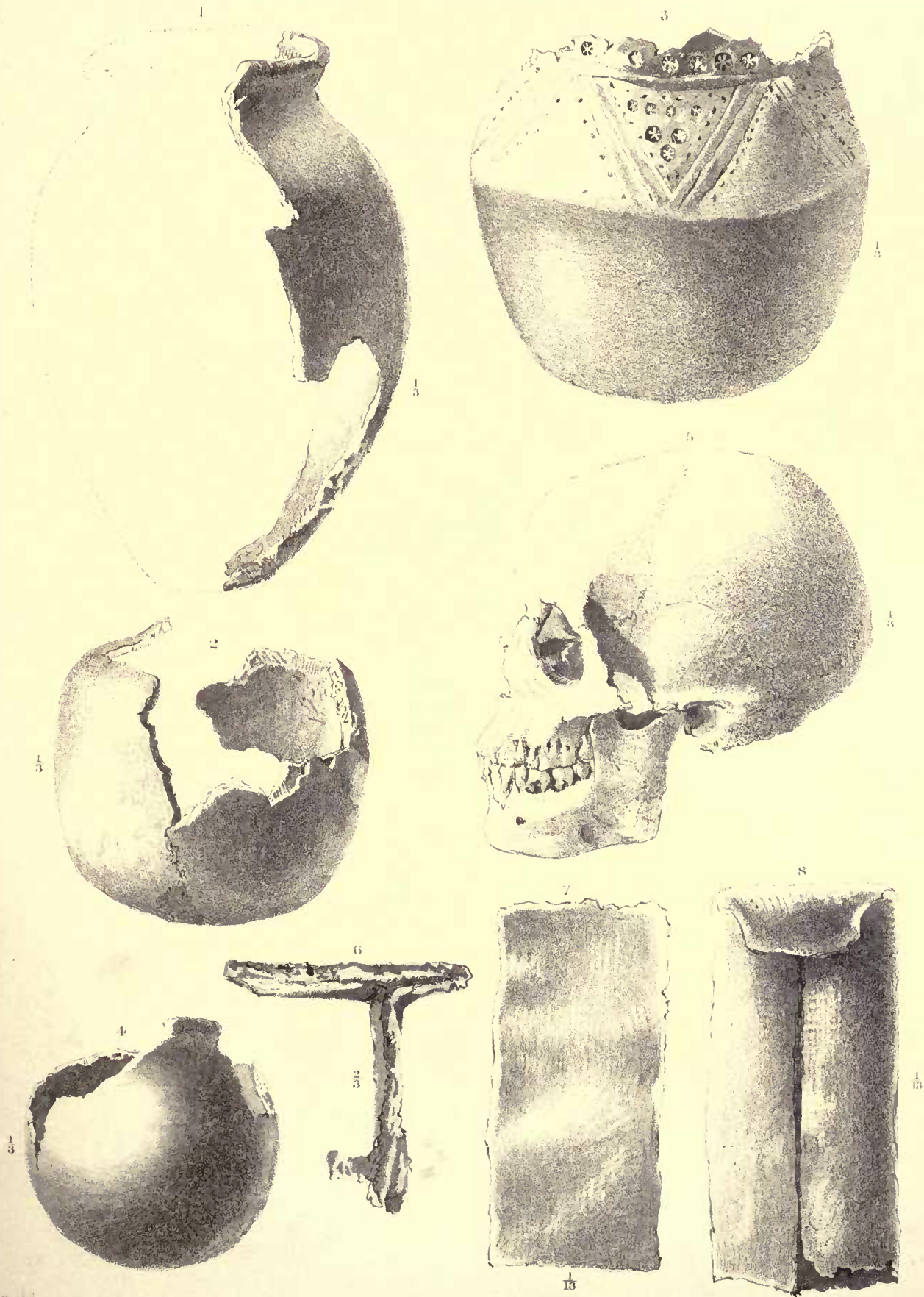
^b See also the account of the plundering of the gorgeously-arrayed corpse of Pope Adrian I. in Mabillon,

told in the *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ii. 852 (cf. also p. 701), "Mos ille in vulgo obsoletus in funeribus episcoporum et presbyterorum retinetur."

In many of these semi-oriented graves nails with woody fibre still adhering to them were found, and from their presence, as also from that of a piece of coffin-hooping (see Plate XXIV. fig. 6, and Dr. Thurnam, *Catalogue, Osteological Series, Royal College of Surgeons*, ii. 881, 5712) in one of these graves, we may argue with considerable probability for the employment of coffins in some, at least, of these interments. The custom of throwing shards, and flints, and pebbles into the grave is common both to Romano-British and to Anglo-Saxon interments in England. That it was pagan and even of very early origin seems probable, and that it persisted into Christian periods is pretty certain. Shakespeare's well-known lines^a (*Hamlet* v. 1) show, however, that its pagan origin had somehow or other so strongly impressed itself upon the public mind that it was no longer practised in Christian burials. They show also that the presence of these shards cannot be explained as being due to accident. Indeed, upon several occasions, I have found fragments of pottery in such relations to the bones of skeletons, in company with which nails were found, as to make it seem highly probable that the shard, when thrown in, must have clanked upon the boards of the coffin, which the nails show us was present there. The thought that our own custom of throwing earth into the grave during the burial service may be connected with this custom, and again, that both may be connected with the classical custom referred to in Horace's line, "Injecto ter pulvere curras," and also Virgil, *Æneid*, vi. 365, and in Sophocles *Antigone*, 256, λεπτή δ' ἄγος φεύγοντος ὥς ἐπὶ κούρῃς, will at once suggest itself; but only to be dismissed on mature consideration; for to the modern antiquary it is no paradox to say that the custom of throwing in shards was probably much older than that of scattering earth over the corpse; and I would suggest, as it is very likely others may have done before me, that the throwing in of the broken pottery may be the perfunctory representation of the deposition in the grave of the entire vase, and that the throwing of earth, for which Archytas and Palinurus begged, may in like manner represent

Museum Italicum, i. 41; Gretzet, *De Funere Christiano*, i. 28; Chrysostom, *Hom.* 84; Guichard, *Funeraillies*, 1581, p. 581, where the Council of Auxerre is said to have condemned "toutes ees bobanees."

^a Douglas, in his *Nenia*, appears to be the first person who drew attention to the lines of Shakespeare, referred to, see p. 10, and also p. 34. For other references to the custom, see Keller, *l.c.* p. 65; Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 25; Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, introd. p. xvii.; Weinhold, *Sitzungsberichte Kais. Akad. Wiss. Wien. Hist. Phil. Klasse*, 1858, bd. 29, hft. i. p. 166. Fried. Simony, *Die Alterthümer vom Halstatter Salzberg*, *Sitzungsberichte Kais. Akad. Wiss. Wien. Hist. Phil. Klasse*, 1851, p. 7; Keysler, *l.c.* p. 106. Rev. G. R. Hall. *Nat. Hist. Trans. Northumberland and Durham*, i. 2, 1866, p. 167.



ANTIQUITIES FROM AN ANCIENT CEMETERY AT FRILFORD. (II)

the toilsome but unattempted process of inhumation.^a Massillon, long before prehistoric archæology had been thought of, argued for the conclusion that a belief in a future state is a naturally implanted conviction from the fact that “nulle part vous n'en rencontrerez des peuples sans sépultures et sans vases,” and the Abbé Cochet, in his *Archéologie Céramique*, p. 1, says that the custom of placing earthen vessels in tombs is one of the most ancient of all customs, and, as just noticed, that it still exists in secluded and remote parts of France, as in Morvan and La Bresse. This coexistence with the custom of our modern burials seems to disprove any interdependence of the two practices. Again, the fact that fragments of pottery were used in interments by cremation, as well as in interments by inhumation, seems to show that the shard and the handful of earth were not set in motion by the same impulses. In very early times earthen vessels were of great value, and it was in those days a proof of at least as great affection to bury or throw on to the funeral pile an earthen vessel as it was in after ages to burn his gorgeous insignia with Pompey.^b I take this opportunity of quoting a passage from a curious work, the only one^c of very many old books which I have looked through in the Bodleian and elsewhere for some passage parallel to the one quoted so often from *Hamlet* in which I have found one. This book is entitled *Funus Parasiticum, sive L. Biberii Curculionis Parasiti Mortuatium, Ad ritum prisce Funeris*, Auctore Nicolao Regultio, Lubecæ, MDCXXXVII. In describing the imaginary funeral of the parasite whom he is satirising, the author uses the following words: “Cum quisque certatim in rogum dona cumulat, et partim trullas, cantharos, lances, alii struices patinarias, cyathos, ciboria coquinaria, omnia flammæ committunt.” It is obvious, of course, that the author may be representing the throwing in of these articles as being the most natural thing to do at the funeral of a glutton, as they had been his *instrumenta artis*; and Peniculus, it may be recollected, in the *Menechmi* of Plautus, i. l. 25, speaks in terms of unctuous affection of his hosts' *struices patinarias*—the very words employed by Regultius. Still I am inclined to think that Regultius may have had some recollection, or at least some tradition, of the custom considered as so distinctively

^a For the tendency of customs involving expense to assume cheaper forms, see Sir John Lubbock, *Nat. Hist. Rev.* Oct. 1861, p. 801; *Prehistoric Times*, p. 98, ed. i. p. 142, ed. ii.

^b See *Lucan.* ix. 175.

^c Since writing as above I have met with the following passage in Keysler's *Antiquitates Selectæ*, p. 173. “Inde Nimischæ, in pago uno miliari a Gubena distante universus adparatus culinaris erutus, cacabi, ollæ, catini, phialæ, patinæ, urceoli, lagenulæ, testante D. Christiani Stieffii *Epistola*.” This *Epistola* was published in 4to. in 1704, and treats of “Lignicenses atque Pilgramsdorfenses urnas.” See Keysler *loc. cit.* p. 113.

heathen by the priest in *Hamlet* when he introduced this particular feature with so much iteration into his burlesque *ad ritum prisci funeris*. Writing at Lubeck, he may well have been familiar with the Baltic provinces further eastward, which the Teutonic knights had so much difficulty in civilising and Christianising.

Roots of plants had twined themselves about and around the bones contained in these graves, and the minute mollusc^b *Achatina acicula* was found inside the skulls in such abundance as to make it very evident that air and moisture had very free access even to the bottom of these graves, and consequently we should not be justified in arguing from the want now in many of these graves of any traces of such perishable materials as the wood and metal-work of a coffin, to the conclusion that no coffin had been put into them 1,400 years ago. The wonder, indeed, is not so much that such substances should in some instances and in such circumstances have vanished, as that they should in any have persisted to the present day. Still I am inclined to think that evidence is not wanting to show that in some cases the Romano-Britons, like other races in ancient, mediæval, and modern times, interred their dead sometimes with, sometimes without, coffins. This evidence lies mainly in the fact that in some cases a large stone has been found so near the head as to render it difficult to think any coffin, however thin its walls, can have been interposed between the stone and the body. (See Catalogue, xv³, Sept. 26, 1868; xvii⁵, Sept. 26, 1868.) But even in these interments, where coffins may not have been employed, and which consequently so far resemble the Anglo-Saxon burials by inhumation shortly to be described, three important and easily recognisable differentiating peculiarities are present. First, stones do not appear to have been placed by the Romano-Britons under the head of the corpse, as they were placed in Anglo-Saxon interments, and consequently we do not find in the former, as we do in the latter so very commonly, the cervical vertebræ impacted along the base of the skull from the occipital foramen up to the symphysis of the jaw. Neither do the Romano-Britons, at least at Frilford, appear to have set stones along the sides of their graves, as the Anglo-Saxons did. Thirdly the Romano-British graves, when recognised as such, in contradistinction to the Anglo-Saxon interments, by the help of these external peculiarities, are found to contrast with them in a point of even greater as it is of more intrinsic interest, viz., in the very large proportion of aged skeletons which they contain. The male Anglo-Saxon skeletons are invariably, or all but in-

^a See Wylie, *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 467.

^b See Schaafhausen, *Die Germanische Grabstätten am Rhein*, p. 125; and *Collectanea Antiqua* (vi. 201), a work with which I was not acquainted when I wrote, as above, for account of a Cemetery at Kempston.

variably, the skeletons of young men: quite the reverse is the case with the Romano-British. To this point, as resting upon anatomical evidence, I shall have to revert in the second part of my paper; it is sufficient here to say that the difference is just what would be observed now between the cemetery of a settled civilized Christian village and that of an outlying station on the border-land between some gradually advancing empire, and the territories of some gradually receding but intermittently aggressive aborigines.

III. *Of the Anglo-Saxon Interments in the way of Cremation.*

Ten urns containing burnt bones have come into my hands during the excavations carried on at Frilford. Of these two were patterned urns, and the rest plain. A fairly perfect patterned vessel from this cemetery is to be seen in the British Museum, and two patterned fragments have been recovered by me and have been figured in Plate XXIII. figs. 2 and 3. These three latter vessels I incline to think, on account of their size, may have been holy-water vessels rather than cremation urns. The pattern upon them, as well as that upon the patterned urns which were found with burnt bones inside them, is the pattern now so familiar to us as the Anglo-Saxon pattern, from the memoirs of Kemble, Akerman, the Honorable R. C. Neville and others; and the general style and conformation of all the urns patterned and plain alike is not much less plainly referable to the same type. Neither class of urns has been lathe-turned; in none of them is the bottom perfectly flat; they are all of a darkish colour, and, though this colour may occasionally have a tawny streaking intermingled with it, it has usually been protected from reddening by the intermixture of vegetable matter with the paste. The figured urns possess the vandykes, the punched stellate or multiradiate stamps, the circular thumb-made depressions, the encircling zones scored with a pointed stick, and the "characteristic bumps," so fully and accurately described by Mr. Kemble in the *Horæ Ferales*, pp. 87 and 222, as distinguishing Anglo-Saxon urns found in England as well as urns found in the North-German fatherland.^a

The Frilford urns are, with the exception of those found at Long Wittenham, the first urns of Anglo-Saxon manufacture which I have seen recorded as

^a See also for figures of urns resembling those found at Frilford; Engelhardt, *Denmark in the Iron Age*, English translation, 1866, p. 9; Urn from Smedeby, Slesvig; Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, Introd. p. xxviii. and pl. iv.; *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. pl. 20, fig. 1.; Hon. R. C. Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pls. 24-33; Bloxam's *Fragmenta Sepulchralia*, p. 59; Roach Smith, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, introd. p. xv. For the discovery of a bone-punch for stamping ornaments, see Schaafhausen, *Die Germanische Grabstätten am Rhein*, p. 139, 1868.

found in Berkshire. Mr. Wylie^a has put on record similar "finds" from some thirteen English counties, to wit, Warwickshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Northamptonshire, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Wight. The *Horæ Ferales*, p. 229, enable us to add a fourteenth county, Sussex, to this list. An urn, which I have by the kindness of the authorities of Queen's College, Oxford, been allowed to figure, and which a short note in the catalogue existing in their magnificent library may be taken as localizing with some probability to Faversham, in Kent, gives us this county,^b in which cremation like the paganism with which it was correlated was earlier superseded than elsewhere by Christianity, as a fifteenth in which Anglo-Saxons established themselves whilst still heathens. Berkshire makes the tale up to sixteen. When we consider how distinctively Christianity opposed^c itself to the practice of cremation, every fresh discovery of these distinctively Anglo-Saxon urns shows us how thoroughly overrun our England was by the "heathen of the Northern sea"^d in the period which elapsed between the landings

^a *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 473.

^b For the rarity of the discovery of cremation urns, at least in an unbroken, undisturbed condition, in Kent, see *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, xv. xlv. 184, 186; *British Assoc. Report*, 1855, p. 146; and Mr. Wylie, *loc. cit.* The Queen's College urn I have figured, Plate XXV. fig. 1. Its Anglo-Saxon origin is indubitable. The evidence for its coming from Kent amounts only to probability, and stands thus: in Queen's College Library there is a "List of the Collection of Egyptian, Etruscan, Greek, Roman, British, and other Antiquities, formed by the late Rev. Robert Mason, D.D. from the collections of Messrs. Belzoni, Salt, Burton, Millingen, and others, 1822 to 1839." In this catalogue there is the following entry: "Sepulchral urns, a large and small, 2." On the smaller of these two urns, which, however, is of Roman manufacture, there is a ticket, "Found at Faversham, Kent." The exteriors of the two urns have much the same colouration or discolouration, which makes it seem likely that they came from the same excavation, and were, consequently, as we now find them, catalogued and placed together.

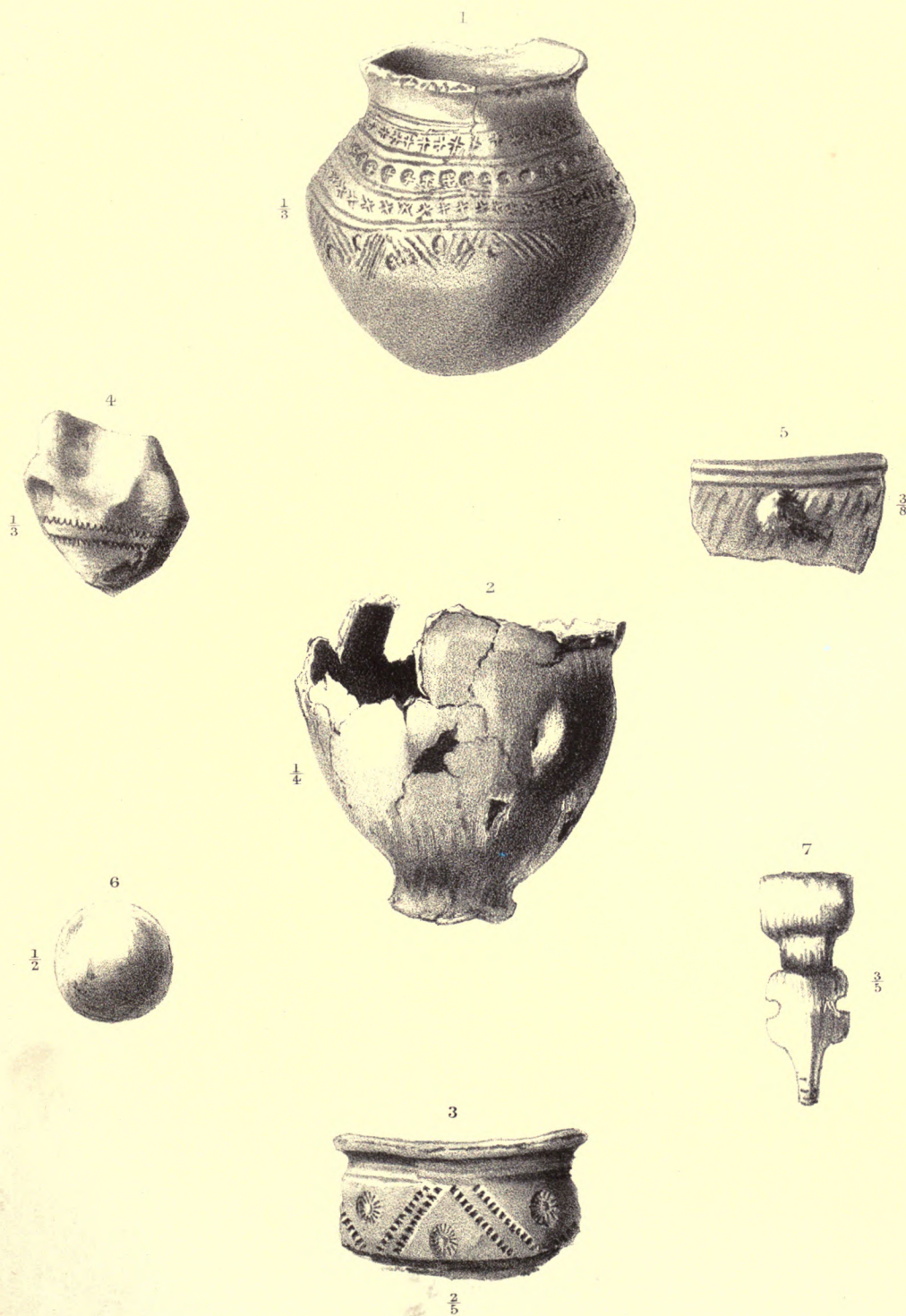
^c For the opposition of the Christians to the practice of cremation, see Neander's *Life of Julian*, English translation, p. 108; *Ibid.* *Minucius Felix*, cit. p. 45; *Acta Martyrum*, Baron, ii. p. 290, Martyrdom of S. Tharacus; Tertullian, cit. Grimm, Berlin Abhand. 1849, p. 207; *Ep. Ecc. Vienn. et Lugduni*, *fin.* *Euseb.* H. E. v. 1, cit. Pusey, *Minor Prophets*, Amos, vi. 10; Charlemagne, *Capit. ad Saxon.* 789, A.D. cit. Fleury, *Ecc. Hist.* i. 44, 45; Gruber, *Origines Livoniæ*, cit. Wylie, *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 467; Kemble, *Horæ Ferales*, p. 95; Schaafhausen, *Germanische Grabstätten am Rheine*, p. 90; *Jahrbuch des Vereines von Alterthums-freunden im Rheinlande*, Bonn, 1868.

^d Literary evidence for the numbers of the Saxons is furnished by such expressions as those which Claudian puts into the mouth of a personified Britannia,

"Ne litore toto

Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis."—*Laus Stilichonis*, xxii. 254.

Evidence for the sudden and continual vexations to which Britain and other regions were subjected by the Saxons may be found in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, xxvi. 4; xxviii. 2.



M.A. Matthews, del.

in it of Hengist and that of Augustine. The legend which makes Hengist land in Thanet and be buried at Conisborough, in South Yorkshire, tells obviously in the same direction, but it is always well to strengthen a conclusion based on the interpretation of such a history as this by evidence drawn from actual, tangible, and verifiable facts. And it is worth while, consequently, to put on record here certain "finds" of Anglo-Saxon urns which have been made subsequently to, or, for other reasons, have not been enumerated among those already referred to. In the year 1859 five urns of the Anglo-Saxon type, which are now to be seen in the museum of the Philosophical Society in York, were found by F. W. Calvert, Esq., in his garden, which is about half-a-mile outside of Micklegate Bar on the right side of the road from York to Tadcaster. Several Roman urns and sarcophagi were found at the same time and place, the Anglo-Saxons having in this, as in so many other Roman stations, used the cemeteries of their predecessors. An urn with an inscription, which I have not seen, was found at the same time. Five other undoubtedly Anglo-Saxon urns are mentioned in *The Descriptive Account of the Antiquities* of this Museum, (p. 95, n. 34) as being found in tumuli on the Wolds. An urn^a as indubitably Anglo-Saxon has been discovered at Kempston, in Bedfordshire, for a sight of which I am indebted to the kindness of Canon Greenwell of Durham. Lastly, in the "Illustrated London News" of Jan. 25, 1868, Supplement, p. 93, some excellent figures of several urns found by Dr. Massey of Melbourne, at King's Newton in Derbyshire, may be seen; and though I have not as yet had an opportunity of personally examining these specimens, I apprehend they will be recognised as belonging to the same class as the North German urns of the *Horæ Ferales*; the South Jutland or Slesvig urns figured by Engelhardt, *loc. cit.* and pl. 14 and 17; and those from the sixteen English counties above enumerated. If, as Mr. Kemble has said, "wherever Christianity set foot cremation was to cease,"^b we may be doubly sure that wheresoever cremation was practised in a country which had been previously Christian, Christianity had for the time become extinct. Of the coexistence *in place* of cremation-urns and of skeletons inhumed entire there is no doubt; and, as many authorities seem convinced that the two practices coexisted also *in time*,^c I should be slow to set against their opinion the fact of

^a See *Collectanea Antiqua*, iv. 161, vi. 166, vi. 201, *seqq.*

^b *Horæ Ferales*, p. 95.

^c For the coexistence of cremation with inhumation: see Kemble, *Horæ Ferales*, p. 918; Neville's *Saxon Obsequies*, p. 11; Wylie, *Archæologia*, xxxvii. p. 456; Akerman, *Further Researches at Brighton*, *Archæologia*, xxxviii.; *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, pp. 165, 195; Weinhold, *Sitzungsberichte Kais. Akad. Hist. Phil. Klasse*, bd. 29, p. 138, bd. 30, p. 176; Lindenschmit, *Archiv Anth.* iii. 114.

the strong feeling which the Christians entertained as to the impiety of cremation. For I read in the passages just referred to, and can believe, that a practice was not always nor immediately discontinued because it was denounced. Still, at Frilford, though in three cases urns were found above Romano-British inhumations, in no case had I any reason to think that one part of the population on this area was practising the one, at the same time that another was practising the other, of these two modes of sepulture. If it should be allowed—in dangerous opposition, it is true, to Mr. Kemble's dictum that no pagan Saxon was buried except when burnt,^a—that the Anglo-Saxon inhumations, shortly to be described as without orientation and with relics, may have been the burials of pagans, I should be more inclined to think that the two rites may have been practised contemporaneously, as we know them to have been by several heathen nations. To the heathen the two modes of sepulture were comparatively indifferent, and very slight reasons may have determined his choice of the one or the other. With the Christian it was different, and abstinence from cremation was made to seem a corollary of some of the most sacred and cherished articles of his faith. Hence I am not disposed to think that the conquered Romano-Britons would continue to use the cemetery of their forefathers when it was constantly being, as they would think, desecrated by the deposition in it of the urns of the unbelievers. The Saxons, on the other hand, as already remarked, had no reluctance against burying in the ground which held the bones of the former lords of the soil, and as the position of several of the urns show—

“ Little they recked of those stout limbs
Which mouldered there below.”

I should add that it is possible that half-converted Saxons may have relapsed into cremation in the absence of the missionary, and under the temptation which the licence of the “lyke-wake” created. But the practice of such a transitional period, if it ever existed, would not affect the historical argument for the overrunning of this country by heathens, which the discovery of these urns in so many parts of it furnishes.

In Plate XXV. fig. 3, a representation is given of a piece of Samian ware found in the Roman rubbish-pit already mentioned as having been discovered within about 200 yards of the cemetery. The resemblance of its pattern to that on the Anglo-Saxon urns is very striking, though the execution and finish are as different as is the material. A pattern of vandykes, scored zones, and stellate impressions,

^a *Horæ Ferales*, p. 98; and, *per contra*, the Rev. S. Finch, *Coll. Antiq.* vi. 220, and Thrupp, *Anglo-Saxon Home*, p. 399.

is one which, by its simplicity, would suggest itself to the rudest nations, and I do not, of course, mean to hint that the urns found here by me were figured after the pattern of Roman ware found here by the Anglo-Saxons. Still the similarity of the two patterns is very striking, and when we consider that urns with Latin inscriptions and Roman manufacture have been found with Anglo-Saxon patterns upon them,^a it is less difficult to imagine that the Teutonic races, years before the period we are dealing with, and while yet in their North German native country, imitated with a stick on coarse hand-fashioned clay-paste the very simple but still beautiful pattern which the Gallo-Romans imprinted on finer and lathe-turned materials. Another illustration would thus be furnished of the extreme readiness already alluded to with which the Germanic natives imitated the arts and refinements of the Romans.

Burnt human bones have been here and there met with without any urn in relation with them, but within my experience at Frilford they have been merely scattered or even single bones, the presence of which may be explained by the disinterment of an urn, and the subsequent replacing of its fragments and its contents with less care than was sometimes bestowed upon this task.^b

In none of the urns were any other contents than human bones mingled with earth and stones discovered, except in the case of the urn found Sept. 1867, in which a few pieces of glass were found together with the bones, and in that of the small unpatterned urn found January, 1867, in which the incisor of a hare or rabbit was also found in company with the human remains, and like them had been subjected to the fire.

The urns were in most instances at but a very short distance from the surface of the ground, and, shallow as the furrows are (some five inches or so) which it is usual to make in this soil, the upper rims of the urns have in several instances received injury from the plough-share. This superficial position of cremation urns enables us to understand how the many superstitions^c as to their pullulation in the spring, &c., arose, and it is paralleled, we may remark, by the shallowness of the inhumations of the same race, to the consideration of which I now proceed.

^a See Roach Smith, British Association Report for 1855, p. 145, and the same writer's *Collectanea Antiqua*, v. 115, pl. x. where such an urn, bearing the inscription D.M. LAELIAE RUFINAE VIXIT A.III.M.III.D.VII. is figured.

^b See *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, introd. p. xvi. pp. 8, 9, 12, 17, 18, 19, 40, 156, 159, 175.

^c For the belief as to urns being "natural production pullulating from the earth like bulbous roots," see *Horæ Ferales*, p. 86. For other superstitions relating to them, see Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 124; Wylie, *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 46.

IV. *Of Anglo-Saxon Interments in the way of inhumation without orientation, but with insignia and in shallow graves.*

The Anglo-Saxons appear to have discontinued cremation, probably at the urgent request of the Christian missionaries, without at the same time adopting the direction of the grave which the usage of their teachers, as well as of their predecessors, would have led them to adopt. The shallowness^a of many graves containing skeletons extended at full length, and adorned with Anglo-Saxon insignia, may again be referred to the retention by half-converted proselytes of some of that carelessness as to the disposal of the corpse which marked many heathen races then, as, indeed, it does now. The now well-known insignia of the male and female Anglo-Saxon respectively—to wit, the umbo, the spear, the buckle, and the knife; the fibulæ, the perforated beads, the similarly perforated glass ornaments; the ear and tooth picks, the scoops, the shroud-pin, the perforated coins, and the knife, found both with women's and men's skeletons—have been found with several skeletons at Frilford, which were interred in graves varying in depth from eighteen up to twenty-seven and thirty inches, and varying still more in their compass bearings. In four of these cases, skeletons, which must be supposed to have been Romano-British, have been found to underlie these Anglo-Saxon remains, just as similarly inhumed skeletons have been already spoken of as underlying cremation urns. In one case a large fragment of a large unpatterned urn (which has been figured in Pl. XXIV. fig. 1, and resembles in style the urn found at Long Wittenham, containing human bones, and figured by Mr. Akerman, *Archæologia*, xxxviii. 352, pl. xx. fig. 4,) was discovered lying over the pelvis of an Anglo-Saxon woman, buried with disc-shaped fibulæ, beads, and shards. The fragment was itself in seven pieces when discovered; but, as they have admitted of readjustment, the fragment must have been put into the grave in the condition which it is in as now restored, in accordance with the custom of carefully replacing the fragments of a disturbed funeral urn, which has been several times noted in other Saxon burials.^b In another of these interments some Roman tiling was found set along the side of the grave, a practice which other Teutonic tribes, in their imitation of the Roman civilisation, adopted, as has

^a For the shallowness of Anglo-Saxon and other Teutonic interments, see Cochet, *Tombeau de Childeric*, p. 41; Bloxam, *Fragmenta Sepulchralia*, p. 47; Englehardt, *Denmark in the Early Iron Age*, p. 9; Akerman, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii., *Long Wittenham*; Kemble, *ibid.* vol. xxxvii. 1856; Wanner, *Alemannische Todtenfeld bei Schleithelm*, pp. 10, 20.

^b See *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, introd. p. xvi. &c.

been observed by Wanner.^a In another, a spear-head (Plate XXIII. fig. 7) with the raised ridge, which Mr. Akerman (*Pagan Saxondom*, p. x.) has observed is to be seen on the assagaye of the modern Hottentot, was found accompanying a skeleton, the sex and nationality of which were spoken to by the presence of an umbo and a buckle,^b as well as by its osteological characters. Fibulæ were not found with the male skeletons; with the female skeletons the common disc-shaped fibulæ were the most usual. In one case, however, the crueiform variety, such as Mr. Akerman has figured (*Archæologia*, xxxix. pl. xi. figs. 8, 9) from Long Wittenham, or (*Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xviii. fig. 1) from the neighbourhood of Rugby, was exemplified in two fibulæ (Plate XXV. figs. 6 and 7) found with a female skeleton, which was accompanied also by the earpick and toothpick and scoop so frequently found in Anglo-Saxon interments.^c No sword has as yet been found in the cemetery at Frilford, and the general character of the Anglo-Saxon relics which have been discovered is in keeping with the absence of this mark of condition and authority, if such^d it may be considered to be. In one case a male skeleton was reported to me to have been found lying in one of these shallow graves with its face downwards. Unfortunately I was not upon the spot when this skeleton was removed; but, though Schaafhausen^e has pointed out that unskilled observers may be deceived as to the position of the face in a grave, I am nevertheless of opinion that the workman who had assisted in the removal of a very large number of skeletons from their graves was right in the report he made to me. Because, in the first place, I have myself seen an instance of such a mode of interment in a Romano-British barrow; and, secondly, it is not difficult to understand how such a misplacement could occur with an uncoffined body borne to a grave, the shallowness of which bore, and bears, evidence to a carelessness which the "lyke-wake" would be only too likely to intensify. It has often been observed^f that the Anglo-Saxons by no means

^a *Das Alemannische Todtenfeld bei Schleithelm*, p. 13. See also Lindenschmit, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, ii. 3, p. 356.

^b For the indications which the presence of a buckle furnishes as to nationality, see Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 58; Cochet, *Tombeau de Childeric*, pp. 228, 234.

^c See *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 70, and pl. xxxv. fig. 4; *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii. *Brightampton* No. 1; vol. xxxviii. *Brightampton* No. 16, preserved in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; *Fairford Graves*, pl. ix. fig. 10, object similarly preserved.

^d See Akerman, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix. "Further researches at Long Wittenham."

^e *Die Germanische Grabstätten am Rhein*, p. 119.

^f Wylie, *Graves of Alemanni*, p. 13; Bloxam, *Fragmenta Sepulchralia*, pp. 67, 72; Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, introd. p. xvi. Compare plate xiv. with plates xxxix. lvii. lxii. and lxvi. of Strutt's *Horde Angel-cynnan*.

invariably employed coffins in their interments. When the head is found to have been supported upon stones placed underneath it, it is plain that the interment must have been coffinless. But I do not find in my notes of the class of shallow, non-oriented, Anglo-Saxon interments that the head had been so supported; and, inasmuch as the results of its having been so raised are ordinarily very evident, the cervical vertebræ being impacted between the *rami* of the lower jaw, and this bone being, not rarely, separated widely from the upper jaw, owing to the changes of position which the perishing of the soft parts has entailed,—it is difficult to think that this peculiar arrangement would have been left unnoticed if it had existed. A nail has occasionally been found in a grave containing an Anglo-Saxon skeleton, but I have never come upon nails in such numbers as to make me think it probable that they had come there otherwise than accidentally, nor have I ever found in such interments that all but infallible sign of a coffin having been employed, namely, coffin-hooping. The shallow Anglo-Saxon graves do not appear to have had stones set round their edges; and the absence of such stones is another, and complementary, illustration of the carelessness which appears to have characterised the performance of these burials. Wherever stones have been found set round a grave, the grave has had the semioriented bearings of the Romano-British interments, and has all but universally the same depth as these graves, and may hence be considered to belong to a distinct era of inhumation.

V. *Of Anglo-Saxon Interments in the way of inhumation in graves of the same compass-bearings, and usually of the same depth, as the Romano-British graves, but differing from them in having stones set along the edges of the grave, and in containing insignia together with the skeletons.*

I have not at Frilford come upon a grave with stones set round its edges which had not the Romano-British direction towards E.S.E., and which did not contain a skeleton with the insignia of the Anglo-Saxon race. Following the Romano-British direction, these interments have followed the same precedent ordinarily as to depth also, and the like, it may be noted, has been observed by Wanner of the Alamannian interments at Schleithcim.* The closeness of the stones to the sides, head, and feet of the skeleton seems to preclude the notion of coffins having been employed in these interments, and the fact that the sides of these stones, which looked towards the skeleton, were in some cases reddened in a way in which actual

* *Das Alamannische Todtenfeld bei Schleithcim*, pp. 11, 18.

experiment shows that similar stones of the neighbourhood do redden under the action of fire, makes it appear all but certain that the charcoal found in these graves around and even under the skeleton must have been produced by a fire lighted in the grave before, or indeed after, the corpse was put into it.^a Mr. Kemble, in the passages already referred to,^b supposes that in the transition state from heathenism to Christianity, such practices as this may have been stealthily indulged in by the newly-made and only half-converted proselytes, and these interments lend a considerable confirmation to this view. The Abbé Cochet^c and Professor Schaafhausen^d seem to incline towards supposing that the similar appearances which they have noticed are to be ascribed to the remnants of a coffin, but I am inclined to think that the absence of nails, the raised position of the head observed in some of these burials, the large size of, and the retention of a certain brilliancy by, the fragments of carbonaceous matter found in these graves, and underneath as well as around the skeletons, as well as the conditions of reddening and of position which the stones present, are points militating very strongly against the hypothesis of a coffin having been present, and in favour of a wood fire having been lighted in the grave either in preparation for, or for the partial combustion of, the dead body. No coins were found in such relations with the head or chest of any of these skeletons as to make it seem likely that they had been put in as "portoria;" in one case, however, a coin was found perforated, for suspension, doubtless as an ornament, about the region of what had been the chest or waist of a very much water-worn skeleton. Shards and flints, and a few bones and teeth of domestic animals, were found in these as in other kinds of inhumation observed in this cemetery. In one of these interments a pair of odd fibulæ, one being of the cruciform, the other of the saucer or disc pattern, was found, one upon one shoulder and the other upon the other of a female skeleton. Similarly, or somewhat similarly, "two large cruciform and two circular fibulæ of bronze," now preserved in the York Museum, were found with a skeleton in the Danes Dale Tumulus.^e These discoveries may seem of trifling moment, but they do go to show, first,

^a In a note from Professor Pearson to me, in which he gives much valuable information upon other points relating to the history of this country in the times with which I am concerned, he says, "The *Anglo-Saxon Laws*, vol. ii. contain several lists of superstitious practices which the Church condemns, such as burning corn upon graves. It is true that the compilations in which these ordinances occur are in one sense not authentic, that is, have been ascribed to wrong authors; but they probably represent the customary law of the church here and on the continent with tolerable fidelity."

^b *Horæ Ferales*, pp. 98-104.

^c *Opere cit.* pp. 198, 255, 256, 304.

^d *Opere cit.* p. 104.

^e See Catalogue, p. 93, and *Coll. Antiq.* vi. Pl. 28.

that no pattern of fibulæ should be considered as peculiar to any one district, except provisionally; secondly, that a very considerable uniformity may have existed in the manners and customs of the Anglo-Saxons throughout the entire length of England; and, thirdly, that, inasmuch as intercommunication between places as far apart as Frilford and Driffild must have been difficult in those days, the numbers of the invaders of these similar fashions and habits must have been considerable.

The stones were set round in the grave in but a single row from within outwards, and in height they do not seem to have extended from the bottom of the grave further upwards than a stone coffin, of which they may be supposed to have been a cheap imitation, would have done. The graves here, as at Selzen, are narrowed towards their lower ends.^a In such interments as these the skull may or may not be found to rest upon a stone which had been put under it in the way of support, and which has caused the lower jaw to settle down upon the cervical vertebræ, and to hold them impacted between its *rami*. The Anglo-Saxon habit of thus placing stones beneath the head of the corpse may or may not be adumbrated by the mediæval stone-pillow in monuments as suggested by the Abbé Cochet;^b but, at all events, it goes some way towards proving that coffins were not employed in the interments in which it is noticeable.

In one of these graves a mass of what has been called a "scoriform" lava, though it is different enough from the true *scoriæ* or slag similarly found in Anglo-Saxon graves at Fairford by Mr. Wylie,^c was found at the foot of a female skeleton. The bulk it made up was about that of an orange, and, as it has separated into two coadaptable halves, each of which resists very violent hammering, we must suppose that since it was put into the grave it must have been subjected to some disrupting agency which acted upon it with great force, and yet left it, when broken asunder, *in situ*. It is possible that the piece of lava in question may have been broken into two pieces by the action of a fire lighted in the grave, as, it has been suggested, was the case with a mill stone found split to pieces in a Saxon grave discovered^d at Winster in Derbyshire, and showing, which this grave did not, signs of a fire having been lighted in it. But one of the many valuable hints which I owe to Professor Phillips has made me think that it may be to frost rather than to fire that we ought to look to account for the fractures

^a See Lindenschmit, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, ii. 3. 356, in review of Wanner's *Memoir, Das Alamanische Todtenfeld bei Schleithelm*; Schaafhausen, *op. cit.* pp. 131, 154.

^b *Normandie Souterraine*, ed. i. p. 192.

^c *Fairford Graves*, p. 24.

^d Extract from the "Times," Thursday, Oct. 23, 1856, given in *Horæ Ferales*, p. 104.

of volcanic products such as these. A porous soil would allow the cavities of such a piece of lava to become filled with water, and a shallow grave in a severe winter might furnish the other requisite conditions. Some mortar-like matter was adherent to the exterior of the piece of lava besides and distinct from the calcareous incrustation which the water of the soil had deposited upon it. The lava itself, as containing *hauyne*, we may be justified in regarding as having, in all probability, come from Niedermennig, which is a place whence, in the time of Augustus,^a the Romans took building materials for the bridge at Trèves, and whence, as a matter of fact, mill-stones are now largely exported, and whence consequently, we may think it not wholly unlikely^b they were exported in former and Anglo-Saxon times. It is difficult, of course, to be quite sure that a sub-globular mass such as the piece of lava I found at the feet of this Anglo-Saxon female had been a piece of a quern; but fragments, of identical, and closely identical mineralogical characters, found “near a barrow in Norfolk,” and “in a British barrow at Thetford,” respectively, have been considered as pieces of a millstone by the well-known antiquary J. Wickham Flower, Esq., to whose kindness I owe the opportunity of comparing these several sets of volcanic fragments together.

Schaafhausen^c has put on record several instances of Germanic interments either in coffins made out of *tufa*, or in graves with fragments of such volcanic matter set round their copes, together with other stones, and it is just possible that the Niedermennig lava may have been put, as it was in this grave, at the foot of the grave, whilst other stones were set round the sides, as a kind of reminiscence of what the “setting” of the interment might have been elsewhere. But I am not aware that we have any reason for thinking that the Anglo-Saxons, who, rather more than a century^d after the first invasion drove the “Southern Belgæ or Firbolgi” out of Berkshire into Wales and Damnonia, received any accessions to their numbers from regions so far south as Andernach and Coblenz,^e where such interments could be easily, and were frequently made; and it is more probable that a fragment of lava may have been put into a grave in its aspect of a fragment of a millstone, an implement of daily life, than in its aspect of a fragment of the same material as that out of which entire coffins or the entire “setting” of a grave had been made elsewhere.

^a Daubeny, on *Volcanos*, pp. 49, 64.

^b See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, ed. iii. 1867, p. 438, seen by me subsequently to writing as above.

^c *Op. cit.* pp. 122, 127; Wren, *Parentalia*, p. 266. ^d See Beale Poste, *Celtic Inscriptions*, 1861, p. 71.

^e Leo, however, in his *Ortsnamen*, p. 100-104, has tried to show that most of the local names near Heidelberg correspond to local names in Kent.

On the whole, I am inclined to regard these interments as belonging to a period of transition from the comparative if not total heathenism of shallower interments without orientation, and without the decent regard for the dead which the setting of stones round the graves indicates, to the more distinctively Christian mode of burial without insignia and in coffins. The greater depth and the direction of the graves I should regard as due to the teaching of the Christian missionaries; the adoption of the very graves used by the Romano-Britons may have been due merely to the imitative tendencies of the conquering races, or it may be ascribed to the influence of some remnants of the conquered Christians, who may have maintained their religion on sufferance, and their traditions as to the tombs of their fathers during the dark period which intervened between the invasion of Cerdic and the preaching of Birinus. The tricking out of a corpse with insignia of sex, or rank, or employment, seems half heathen to us who have the great truth that we can take nothing out of the world with us impressed upon us at times when we are most open to impressions; still it is just such a custom as a missionary with the proper amount of the wisdom of the serpent would acquiesce in. Time, such a teacher would know, was on his side, and he would feel that he could afford to wait.

It is possible that the differences between these two kinds of Anglo-Saxon inhumation may have been due to some social differences between the persons severally practising them, and that the deeper graves may have been dug for richer, and the shallower for poorer, persons. But the insignia in both alike are very closely similar, and I incline, therefore, to ascribe the greater care bestowed upon the latter class of interment not to any sense of the favours which a richer person had conferred in times past, but to the greater care which Christianity would teach ought to be bestowed upon the burial of the body.

The resemblance of the Anglo-Saxon manners and customs to those of the kindred but hostile race of the Franks, is very familiar to the English explorer of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, if he be acquainted either with Lindenschmit's work, *Das Germanische Todtenlager beim Selzen*, or with the works of the Abbé Cochet so often referred to in this paper. The Merovingian^a and the Anglo-Saxon resembled each other in their abhorrence of city life; and also in the melancholy point of their short-livedness which has already been alluded to, and which

^a Gibbon, vi. 336, chap. xxxviii. for *Merovingians*; Tacitus, *Germania*, chap. 16, for Germans generally; Coote's *Neglected Fact in English History*, p. 123; Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi. 2-12; Pearson, *op. cit.* i. 264. Augustine brought Frank interpreters with him into Kent, Bede *H. E.* i. 25, and the Welsh poems sometimes speak of the Saxon enemy as a "Frank;" see Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, i. 460.

appears to be explicable by the fact that in the times we have been dealing with these races preferred a country life, it is true, to a town life, but a country life in a camp, not a country life in a village. As Temple (cit. Rapin, p. 161) and Leibnitz long ago remarked, there are other points which serve to show the community of origin of the Frank and the Saxon, such are their reckoning time by the nights, as the "fortnight," to say nothing of their closely allied languages. A minor point of community is furnished by their common employment of the Roman tiling to set round their graves. On the other hand, the Saxons retained the custom of cremation a century and a half longer than the Merovingians, and their urns were not lathe-turned, whilst those of the Selzen Teutons were. (See Lindensehmit, *l. c.*, p. 15.) Holy-water vessels have not been so constantly found at Frilford as they appear to have been at Selzen, from the beautiful figures given in the monograph referred to, or as they are expressly stated to have been by the Abbé Cochet in the Merovingian interments.^a

VI. *Conclusions suggested by an Examination of the Human Remains found at Frilford.*

The cranial and other osteological peculiarities of the human remains which I have examined from the Frilford cemetery, seem to me to throw sometimes a very unambiguous, and sometimes, it must be confessed, a more or less questionable light upon certain of the moot points in the political and natural history of the period in which their owners lived. Among those points may be specially mentioned the often-raised and very variously answered questions, as to the extent to which^b the Anglo-Saxon Conquest was equivalent to an extirpation of the population previously in occupation of this country;^c and as to the physical and

^a See *Archéologie Céramique*, pp. 11, 13.

^b For the question of the extent to which the Celtic population were destroyed by the Saxon Invasions: see Pearson's *History of England during the Early and Middle Ages*, i. 99—103, 1867; Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, i. 18, 20; Akerman, *Archæologia*, 38, 2nd Report, Bournemouth; Turner's *Anglo-Saxon History*, i. 311; Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 8; Kemble's *Saxons in England*, i. 21; D. Wilson, *Anthropological Review*, iii. 81.

^c For the various views which have been held as to the Roman cranium: see Ecker, *Crania Germanica*, p. 86, 1865; Ecker, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, i. 2, p. 279, 1866; ii. 1, p. 110, 1867; Holder, *Ibid.* ii. 1, p. 58; His, *Crania Helvetica*, pp. 39 and 40; His, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, i. 1, p. 73, 1866; His and Vogt, Mortillet's *Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'homme*, August 1866, pp. 522, 523; *Crania Britannica*, p. 23, chap. ii. and ad pl. 49; Davies and Thurnam, cit. *Indigenous Races*, p. 312; Maggiorani, cited by Ecker, *Cran. Germ.* p. 88, and *Arch. für Anth. l.c.*; cited by v. Baer, *Bull. Acad. Imp. Sci. St. Petersburg*, 1860, p.

more particularly the cranial characters of the Romans and Romanized Britons. But it is worthy of note that very indubitable evidence, at least as to some of the social and moral peculiarities^a of the conquered and the conquering races respectively, may be gathered from a careful examination of their bony remains.^b

I have subjoined in a tabular form the results of my examination of the sometimes fairly complete, sometimes exceedingly incomplete, remains of 123 burnt or buried bodies which have come into my hands from the excavations and quarrying carried on at Frilford at various times during the years 1864-68 inclusive. In spite of the ravages of fire in the cases of cremation, and the all but equally destructive working of the water containing carbonic and other acids upon inhumation in ground with the rock (coralline oolite) at an average distance of about a yard from the surface, it has been possible to identify the sex and age in all but about a sixth of the skeletons, or parts of skeletons, examined. Many skeletons, however, and many urns had been lost to science, as may be gathered from Mr. Akerman's report,^c during the various quarrying operations carried on at various times previously to his investigations, and the arithmetical results of my researches are much less valuable consequently than they otherwise might have been. But I incline to think that the tolerably exhaustive and complete collection which the great kindness of the authorities at Frilford has enabled me to make of the fruits of the excavations carried on during the last two years, may be taken as a fair sample of what the entire series was.

One of the most striking peculiarities of the series of 123 skeletons, as represented more or less fragmentarily in the University Museum at Oxford, is the very large number of old persons' remains which it presents to our view. The most superficial observer cannot fail to be impressed by this fact. A little more accurate inspection shows that the proportion of aged persons varied most surprisingly

58, fig. g; Edwards, *Des Caractères Physiologiques des Races Humaines*, p. 50; Nott and Gliddon, *Indigenous Races*, p. 311, and Cardinal Wiseman, *cit. in loco*.

^a As to the supposed degeneracy of the Britons, see Kemble, *Saxons in England*, ii. 294, i. 6; *Encyclopædia Metropol.* xi. 378; Zosimus, *cit. Mon. Hist. Brit.* lxxviii. vi. 6.

^b As the German periodical, the *Archiv für Anthropologie*, is conducted under the joint editorship of Ecker and Lindenschmit, and as the latter, I apprehend, is as well known among archæologists as the former is among biologists, no apology will be needed for the constant reference which I shall have to make to its pages. It may be well to add here that the English reader can find a very clear account of the classification of crania adopted by His and Rüttimeyer, and alluded to very frequently by myself, as also by various writers in the periodical just mentioned, in the *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, pp. 104, 105, a work written by S. Laing, Esq. M.P. and Professor Huxley, conjointly.

^c *Proc. Soc. Antiq. ubi supra*.

in accordance with the nationality, and that of the persons of either sex who were interred with Anglo-Saxon insignia only two could have been considered old. We are, unhappily, even now too familiar with the history of invading armies to feel it necessary to spend much time in excogitating an explanation of this fact: it is worthy, however, of mention that a similar fact has been noted by the Abbé Cochet^a in the burial-grounds of the kinsfolk of the Anglo-Saxons, the Merovingian Franks. The preponderance of longevity being seen to attach to the Romano-British population, the presence with these aged "frames" of coins bearing such names as those of Gratian tempts us to explain the phenomenon by the hypothesis of the young men having been taken away to fight and die in distant countries under such commanders as Magnus Maximus. Persons who some years ago had the opportunity of seeing village after village on the continent of Europe inhabited by forms like that of Tithonus, will be ready to accept this explanation as sufficient to account for the fact. Till I came to add up the various individual identifications of the two sexes which I had made from time to time, and without any reference to any historical relations which the skeletons or their owners might have possessed during life, I held this hypothesis myself. But on adding up the numbers of males and females severally, I find that I have assigned no less than 48 of the 123 bodies to the male sex, and only 34 to the female. Even if we add to the female series the 11 individuals as to whose sex I have felt myself unable to pronounce, the force of this arithmetic is but little impaired, or, indeed, not at all.^b The fact of the great preponderance in number of aged remains may be explained by a reference to the present condition of the population on the spot. Frilford is renowned for its salubrity and the longevity of its inhabitants at the present day. The fact of the great preponderance of male skeletons is not so easy of explanation, and it is especially difficult of solution when we note that more than half of these male skeletons are aged ones. Barracks and prisons furnish an excess of male skele-

^a *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 183.

^b It has been suggested to me that the soldiers, who, on the hypothesis before us, are supposed to have left their bones in foreign lands, may have taken wives with them. But it could not have been often in days of such difficulty in travelling that "Lycoris

"Perque nives alium perque horrida castra secuta est."

The soldiers of Gustavus Adolphus were, very many of them, married men, but I do not know that their wives accompanied them to his famous battle-fields. The men, too, who fought and won at Lützen had very different motives and incentives from those of the recruits who followed the standards of the various "tyrants" and pretenders of the later Roman Empire, and it is only by means of such motives and incentives that men can be got in any large numbers to break away from family ties and join distant military expeditions.

tons in their burial-grounds, I apprehend, but not an excess of *aged* male skeletons. I am not aware that the monks of the west had established themselves among the Atrebatas before the time of Cerdic.^a And the only hypothesis which has suggested itself to me is that the part of the burial-ground which has fallen under my inspection may have been used by preference, though by no means exclusively, for male interments. The hypothesis of a battle is excluded by several considerations, and notably by that of the age of the skeletons.

Of the thirty-five skeletons assigned by me to the female sex, thirteen were of aged, and no less than nineteen of young, women. The great dangers of childbirth may be supposed to be indicated by these figures, and the osteophytic intracranial growths^b so often observed in the puerperal state, and noted here in four cases, may point in the same direction. Under the head of children I have reckoned all persons below the age of thirteen or fourteen. The numbers of this class, viz. twenty-eight, which I have identified, holds a much smaller proportion to the whole number, 123, than we should expect from modern statistics. But the greater perishability of children's bones, and the lesser depths of their graves, which, if not more chemically, is yet mechanically more dangerous to their preservation, must be borne in mind in considering these figures, and should prevent us from basing any argument upon them over-hastily. Still, we may perhaps be justified in thinking that there could not have been at Frilford, even in days when glazed windows and coal were as little used as China-ware and "China drink," that great infantile mortality which, by weeding out all the weakly in early life, produces a population of adults with a great proportion of aged individuals.

The Anglo-Saxon remains which I have procured from Frilford have suffered much from the mechanical and chemical agencies to which the shallowness of their graves, and, secondly, the shallowness of the soil, exposed them; and the youth of their owners has still further rendered them amenable to these destructive and distorting forces. But, thanks to the reconstructive ability of Mr. Charles Robertson, I have been enabled to see that the two types of crania which have been shown by Dr. Barnard Davis to have been found with Anglo-Saxon insignia, both at Long Wittenham,^c and at Linton, in Cambridgeshire,^d coexisted

^a See, however, *Hist. Mon. de Abingdon*, i. pp. 2, 3.

^b Rokitansky, *Path. Anat.* Sydenham Soc. Trans. iii. 208; Bock, *Pathologie*, p. 209.

^c See *Archæologia*, xxxviii. No. 107, 770 k. Oxford Univ. Museum.

See *Crania Britannica*, Dec. 4, pl. xlvi. Two other crania of this "platycephalic" type have been found in the Frilford cemetery subsequently to the writing of this paper, viz. March 22, 1869 (No. iv. and

side by side in the Anglo-Saxon contingent which possessed itself of Frilford. I may remark that the two types are recognisable in specimens of both sexes, and a very fairly perfect female cranium has been figured (Plate XXIV. fig. 5) from a grave in which a pair of fibulæ and a number of beads were found, as it shows at once, and distinguishably, the tribal and the sexual characters, which have very often been confounded, and as from the surroundings with which it was found there is no doubt as to its value as a standard of reference. This skull appears to have belonged to the shorter and broader type of Anglo-Saxon crania, which was, I am inclined to think, the less cultivated of the two types. A second Anglo-Saxon female cranium found here belongs to the same type. A single female and a single male cranium of a more elongated form were also found with Anglo-Saxon insignia. The female skeleton, it may be remarked, belonged to an old person, and in this point, as also in the possession of cruciform fibulæ (see Plate XXV. fig. 7), instead of circular ones, this skeleton differed from the two others with which we have compared it. It was chiefly from a comparison of the female Anglo-Saxon skull figured in Plate XXIV. fig. 5, with the first cranium described by me as "cranium (male) marked A" for Mr. Akerman in his Report in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, May 25, 1865, that I came to see that my assignment of this latter to the male sex had been in all probability erroneous. This cranium was reported as having been found with a fibula two feet above it, and though this by no means proves it to be an Anglo-Saxon skull from the archæological point of view, the very close anatomical approximation of this skull to the indubitably Anglo-Saxon skull figured in Plate XXIV. fig. 5 does, when coupled with this fact, lend some considerable probability to such a conclusion. In justice to myself, I may be permitted to say that the cranium and lower jaw were the only bony relics upon which I had to form my judgment as to sex, and that in my report I did draw attention to the small development of size and strength which they seemed to show that their owner must have possessed. And the authority of anatomists of no less repute than His and Rüttimeyer,^a Weleker^b and Ecker,^c may be adduced to show that it is by no means always possible to decide the ques-

v.) Both had belonged to young men. In both the body had been buried with the head raised; and in one the grave, though semioriented, was only 18 inches deep, and the arm lay across the body, and not by the side, as in the burials of Latinized populations (see Cochet, *Normand. Souterr.* p. 193). There were no relics, and we have not therefore more than probable evidence for their nationality.

^a *Crania Helvetica*, pp. 8 and 9.

^b *Archiv für Anthropologie*, i. 1, p. 127.

^c *Ibid.* ii. 1, p. 110.

tion of the sex of a cranium in the absence of the pelvis and other bones. It is interesting to remark that a very similar female cranium was found by the Rev. George Cardew in a Romano-British cemetery at Helmingham under circumstances such as that of having the head raised, which makes it probable that the skull may have differed as much ethnologically as it does anatomically from the skulls of the Romanized Celts, amongst whom it, as also another cranium supposed not to have been Celtic, was found. This cranium has been presented to the University Museum by the Rev. G. Cardew, and has been carefully measured and compared with other skulls supposed or known to have belonged to Anglo-Saxons. Two smallish brachycephalic or sub-brachycephalic and prognathic crania, one of which belonged to an old (No. xiv. Jan. 15, 1868) and the other to a young woman (No. x. March 17, 1868), and neither of which has any other than osteological evidence attached to it for the decision, I am inclined upon this evidence to think may have been Anglo-Saxons of the type of the two female crania just spoken of. The younger of these two women's skulls was found with the cervical vertebræ impacted between the rami of its lower jaw, and in this, as in many other particulars, resembles the female Anglo-Saxon skull from Brighthampton, to be seen catalogued as No. 5,712 D, in the College of Surgeons.

Among the entire series, besides some fourteen crania, or parts more or less fragmentary of crania, and other bones, which speak to the existence of a distinct interment without making it possible to refer the remains certainly to a distinct type, there are some four or five crania which bear a considerable resemblance to crania of what is perhaps the most common modern English type. The frontal region, without attaining any very extraordinary development, nor exceeding either in vertical or transverse diameter the frontal regions of the larger specimens of brachycephalic British skulls, is, nevertheless, possessed of more equable proportions relatively to the other regions of the cranium than the great majority of ancient crania.^b And in consequence, to some extent, of this, the entire calvarium shows a more evenly ovoidal contour than the skulls composing the rest of this series. These crania were found in graves in which no relics, except in one instance a nail, were found, and which ran in the ordinary semi-oriented Romano-British direction. And, so far as the brain case is concerned, these crania might be looked upon as embodying the result of intermarriages of the broader "Sion" type with the narrow "Hohberg" type, and corresponding with

^b See Broca, *Sur la Capacité des Crânes Parisiens*, Bull. Soc. Anth. de Paris, tom. iii. 113, 1862.

the "Misch-Form" spoken of by His at p. 49 of the *Crania Helvetica*. And they might perhaps be considered as representing the inevitable result of the settlement of a large Roman immigration in the midst of a dolichocephalic Celtic people. But inasmuch as these crania show a not inconsiderable tendency to prognathism, and resemble herein the Anglo-Saxon, and differ from the Romano-British series, I incline to think they may have belonged to Christianized Anglo-Saxons who died before the churchyard had superseded the cemetery, but after the custom of burial with insignia had given way to the urgency by the which its anti-Christian character may have been represented to the convert. The hypothesis of poverty will account for the absence of relics, but I do not incline to accept it here, partly on account of the presence of a nail, which may seem to imply the employment of a coffin in one of the interments, and partly on account of the resemblance which these skulls show to the male Anglo-Saxon cranium (No. 36, Researches at Long Wittenham, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii.) and to a female Anglo Saxon cranium obtained for me by the kindness of the Rev. R. Taylor, from the Kemble Cemetery, described by Mr. Akerman in the *Archæologia*, 1856, vol. xxxvii. in neither of which cases have we reason to suspect the existence of straitened means.

The name of Magnus Maximus, the Maxen-lwedig of the Mabinogion, forbids us to think that in the days of Gratian there could have been, either in modes of life or in modes of burial, much difference between a Roman and a Romano-Briton. Tenants of leaden coffins must, from the expensive character of their interment, have been persons of distinction, such as were the "Equites"^a under the Roman empire; but Roman citizenship no more implied Roman blood in the days of Ambrose than it did in those of St. Paul. The *Notitia*,^b indeed, informs us that races, such as the Tungrians, Dacians, Moors, Cilicians, and Dalmatians, as well as Spaniards, Gauls and Germans, were employed by the imperial policy to hold Britain at the foot of Rome.

But if it is at all possible to separate and distinguish, when one is treating of the times of Maximus, between a Romano-British and a Roman interment, it may be possible to do so in such cases as those of the two interments in leaden coffins already described. The tenants of these coffins must at least have been persons of wealth, and in the enjoyment during their lifetime of

^a See Kemble's *Saxons in England*, ii. 272; Pearson's *History of England*, i. 45; Coote's *Neglected Fact in English History*, pp. 40, 45.

^b See *Roman City of Uriconium*, by J. Corbet Anderson, Esq. p. 129; and Holder, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, ii. i. 88, Taylor, *Words and Places*, p. 284, *ibique citata*.

all the distinctive characteristics which still remained attached to the title *Civis Romanus*. It is true that coins were found with the one and not with the other of these two skeletons, but in all other particulars attending their sepulture they seem to have very closely resembled each other. But when we come to compare their crania we find that while that of the skeleton found with coins is of an elegantly vaulted and lofty form, that of the other is low, broad, and globose. Professor His would speak of the one as belonging to his "Hohberg," and of the other as belonging to his "Sion" *typus*. The skull of the former differs but little, and that chiefly in the way of refinement, from the elongated and vaulted crania procured from British barrows of a pre-Roman period, such as the long barrow at Netherswell, near Stow-on-the-Wold, calvaria from which I have side by side with that of this Roman from the leaden coffin as I write; the skull of the latter is as broad and low as another equally authentic "Roman" cranium of about the same period, figured by Professor Ecker at pl. xx. of his *Crania Germanica*. So far, then, as these crania bear upon the argumentation as to whether the Roman skull was an elongated and vaulted, or an elongated and broad and flat skull, we may at first sight be tempted to rest in the conclusion that both types were equally and alike found in the imperial race. I believe, however, that it is possible to show that we should be wrong in considering with Professor His^a that the former of these types, which he has also spoken of as the aristocratic type of head, is really the Roman skull *par excellence*. First, as it seems to me, the Romans themselves considered theirs to be a broad rather than a lofty-headed race. In looking at Roman monuments as reproduced for us in such works as Lindenschmit's *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, we cannot fail to be struck by the great angle at which the ears stand out from the head; and this feature, a very striking and obvious one, is, as observation on living "eurycephalic" persons will show, correlated with a globose and bossy rather than with a vertically-walled and narrow temporo-parietal region. The engraving of the beautiful monument to Manlius Caelius, an officer in the army of Varus, given at heft vi. taf. v. of Lindenschmit's work, just referred to, shows this peculiarity in the attachment of the external *concha* of the ear in each of three heads it represents; and much the same may be said of the figures given heft iv. taf. vi., heft ix. taf. iv. and especially of the uppermost of the two

^a *Arch. für Anthrop.* i. 1, p. 70. *Crania Helvetica*, p. 38, one of the Hohberg type skulls is supposed by the authors to have come from a cemetery the graves in which were oriented, and contained swords and spear-heads as well as coins. This however does not prove that they belonged to *Roman* soldiers, but rather the contrary. See *Cran. Helv.* p. 21, note.

figures in heft viii. taf. vi. Busts also of the Roman emperors and of other Romans which are recognised as more or less authentic speak to the same effect. Secondly, we do find the broad and flat form of cranium very commonly in cemeteries of undoubted Roman character in England, and the arched and centrally ridged and narrow cranium we do find in as undoubtedly British barrows. A skull, most singularly resembling one of my globose platycephalic crania from Frilford, was recently shown me by Canon Greenwell from a cemetery at Margate, where it had been found with Roman pottery, whilst the "Hohberg" type of skull is the very form which Retzius describes as the less common Celtic form, and calls, for the sake of distinguishing it, by the name "Belgie."^a Thirdly, through the kindness of Thomas Combe, Esq., M.A. of Oxford, I have had put into my hands, and into the Oxford Museum, a skull, "found in excavating a house of the time of the Roman Republic, discovered below a vineyard, near the baths of Caracalla, on the Via Appia," and this skull, though it belonged to a person of not more than between twelve and fourteen years of age, enables me to understand how the modern Italian anthropologist Maggiorani speaks of the ancient Roman skull as a long but broad skull, oblong and four-cornered, with broad interparietal and broad frontal regions. But I must say that the skull from the leaden coffins, of which I am speaking, as also a more or less authentic bust of Julius Caesar, and such works of art as the Roman figured in Lindenschmit's *Alterthümer*, heft vii. taf. v. have convinced me that too much weight may be laid upon breadth of forehead. In these heads the broad character which they present does not depend upon the frontal but upon the parietal region, and the vertical view of the cranium presents very much such an outline from back to front as the broad side of the flint axes or celts, so familiar to antiquaries, presents from front to back. The head of the first Napoleon must have presented such a contour when viewed from above; and I believe, in spite of our tendency to connect a narrow forehead with foolishness, that a truer analysis would connect it in many cases merely with premature closure of the frontal suture, which seems hereditary in some families. This premature closing is consistent with the possession of a large cerebrum, and of great mental powers, and we cannot arrogate for it any ethnological significance, at all events in cultured races.

His and Rüttimeyer (*Crania Helvetica*, p. 34), hold that their "Sion" type of cranium, which seems to me to be represented by the broad, flattish, globosely contoured skulls, of which I have just been speaking, was the type of skull

^a *Ethnologische Schriften*, p. 108.

possessed by the Helvetii, their "Celtic forefathers," and by the inhabitants of their Pfahlbauten. And, as there is evidence to show that this same form of skull existed in pre-Roman times even in these islands, we must not suppose that the flatter and more globose skulls which we find at Frilford belonged exclusively to Roman immigrants, or to immigrants from Southern Europe, who may have been commanding as officers, or settled as upper-class *decuriones* or *equites* in the neighbourhood of this cemetery. The loftier and narrower crania, however, may with less hesitation be supposed to have belonged to men of similar station, but of British birth and blood, who had acquiesced in Roman rule, and identified themselves with Roman institutions.

Differing in the particulars specified, the osteological remains of the two occupiers of leaden coffins do nevertheless present certain important points of resemblance. Both belonged to men who were beyond the middle period of life, who were possessed of great muscular strength, but whose skulls, teeth, and jaws seem to show that they had the command of the comforts of civilization. Whilst the skulls in both cases present the appearances of refinement, the other bones of the skeleton are much roughened by the development upon them on the one hand of ridges for the insertion and origin of muscles, and on the other of rheumatic (?) exostoses. And these same bones show, in the one case, with considerable probability, and the other with absolute certainty, that their owner had been exposed, or exposed himself, to personal injury and violence, and had, probably, been a soldier of much service in the stormy times to which, in one case, the antiquarian relics enable us to assign his remains with perfect certainty. The left collar-bone belonging to the skull of the more globose and flatter outlines had undergone and repaired a comminuted fracture during life, and the left metatarsal of the second toe of the foot of the same side, a bone but rarely broken, had been broken, though less severely, than the collar bone, and had, like it, been repaired during life. A fall from a horse may break a collar-bone, but injuries such as war entails are suggested to us by a history like this. The other skull, which was found with five coins, and which I have said may probably be looked upon as having been produced by the action of Roman influences upon the more roughly-hewn dolichocephalic Britons, was found in company with a left first rib, which had anchylosed with its ossified costal cartilage, which again, like the clavicle just above it, had its sternal articular end greatly enlarged. It is possible that these peculiarities may have been the result of exostotic disease, of which the other bones bear evidence, though less marked evidence than the bones of the other skeleton with which we are comparing them; but for the reason conveyed in

these last words, as also because the abnormal appearances are not repeated on the opposite side, I incline to ascribe them to the working of some mechanical injury inflicted, possibly, in war, and certainly many years before death. The owner of this skull had lost, and was at the time of his death losing, teeth by caries,^a and was suffering and had suffered from exostosis in sympathy with it; the owner of the other had lost two of the molars of the right side of the lower jaw early in life, and the molars of the corresponding side in the upper jaw are little worn and suggestive of youth till we look at the other side. The lower jaw in the former of the two skulls is very well formed; in the latter it is comparatively feeble, especially in the region of the chin; the teeth in both are less worn than the age testified to by the rest of their skeletons would have led us to expect. The occupiers of these coffins were both tall men; the stature of the man found with the coins must have been nearly five feet eleven inches, that of the other nearly six feet. A skeleton of an old man, the skull of which closely resembles that of the former of these (see *Catalogue, infra*, No. xiv. May 1867), and which bears less ambiguous marks of its owner having been a warrior in the gaping, though healed, wound on its left side, belonged, as its femur of 19·5 inches length shows, to a man of fully six feet in height. The stature of each of these three warriors was much above that of the average Roman of ancient days, who spoke of the Germanic and Celtic races as possessing *immania ac procera corpora*, as it is also above that of his modern Italian representative,^b and above that of the Long Barrow British skeletons.^c The better food of civilization may have increased the stature of the former of the two occupiers of the leaden coffins, and of the owner of the beautifully elegant and vaulted cranium (No. xiv. May 1867); whilst intercrossing would account for the increase in height in the skeleton to which the flatter skull belonged, if, with Edwards, Cardinal Wiseman,^d Sandifort, and Ecker, we should consider it to be probably Roman.

The craniography of the occupiers of the graves which I have spoken of as Romano-British or British, and which the archæological evidence above adduced shows to have belonged to the times of the later Roman empire, is a subject of considerably greater difficulty than that of the Anglo-Saxon and of the leaden

^a For an interesting history of dental caries, as observed in the ancient inhabitants of Britain, see a paper by J. R. Mummery, esq. *Trans. Odont. Society*, 1869.

^b See Edwards, *Des Caractères Physiologiques des Races Humaines*, p. 53. See Keysler, *l.c.* p. 220, for the stature of the ancient races under comparison, *ibique citata*.

^c See Thurnam, *op. cit.* pp. 40-41.

^d *Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion*, p. 152, *cit.* Nott and Gliddon, *Indigenous Races*, pp. 311, 312.

coffin interments. An examination of fifty-three of these interments, and a comparison, carried on at great cost of time, of their contents with those of several other cemeteries, has conducted me to the following conclusions as to the tribal characters of the pre-Saxon inhabitants of this district with whom I have had to deal. In the first place, I have not in my excavations at Frilford met with any representatives of the brachycephalic type of ancient Britons so well described by Dr. Thurnam,^a and called "Belgic" by Professor Huxley. This is especially noteworthy, as typical examples of this form of cranium have been, through the kindness of the Duke of Marlborough, procured by me for the University Museum from the long barrow at Crawley, described by Mr. Akerman, in the *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 432, and supposed by him to belong to the same period in time, as it does to much the same district in space, as the Frilford cemetery. Secondly, the longer, narrower, and more vaulted skulls, supposed to have distinguished a race which in England at least took the priority in point of time of the brachycephalic and taller race just mentioned, are, in what I should consider their most typical form, all but equally absent here. That most typical form I should consider as identical with the form regarded as "Belgic" by Retzius,^b and spoken of by him as "a Celtic but not the common Celtic form;" and the form called "Cumbecephalic" by Professor Daniel Wilson^c I should regard as being but a slight modification of it. And the three skulls which I have classed in my Tabular view of results of Osteological Investigations (*infra*) as belonging to the "Hohberg" *typus* of His and Rüttimeyer, may be looked upon as embodying the results of the working upon that form of the Roman civilization with which their owners were in contact. Those results are expressed by a decrease in the angularity of the external outlines, and an increase in the cubic capacity indicated in a few cases very strikingly by an open frontal suture; see p. 450, *supra*. Thirdly, a very large majority, viz. thirty-two out of the fifty-three adult Romano-British interments investigated by me, belong to a type which has frequently been confounded, since the time of Retzius' writings, with the dolichocephalic types just spoken of, but which that excellent ethnographer distinguished from it as "Cimbric," a variety of "the common Celtic" type. Comparing this form of cranium, which I may add is by no means

^a *On Two principal Forms of Ancient British and Gaulish Skulls*, pp. 31 and 101. Skulls of this form are considered by Sir Thomas Wilde to have belonged in Ireland to fair-headed, light-coloured, blue, or grey-eyed Celtæ, or Tuatha De Danaan. See *Beauties of the Boyne*, 2nd ed. 1850, pp. 221, 237, 239, and the figure at p. 232.

^b See *Ethnologische Schriften*, p. 107, 108.

^c *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, chap. ix. 1851.

extinct amongst ourselves at the present day, with the elongated but narrow form which he supposes to have belonged to the "Belgæ," Retzius speaks first of "the common Celtic form," and says it differs from the "Belgic," in being less narrow and compressed. The Cimbric variety, he adds, which is found in South Sweden and Denmark, is even somewhat broader still; is very like the Scandinavian Gothic form, and is of an elongated oval shape, with a greatly developed occipital region. And Retzius has, by the gift of a "plaster cast of the cranium of an ancient aboriginal of Scandinavia regarded as the Celt" to the easily accessible and invaluable ethnological series in the London College of Surgeons,^a enabled us to understand most unambiguously what was the type of skull to which he alluded. To this type, most assuredly, the large majority of the adult Romano-British crania found in this cemetery are referrible. And I may here say that a skull obtained by me, with many others, from a barrow at Dinnington, near Rotherham, in South Yorkshire, of which casts have been made and presented to various museums in this and other countries by Dr. Thurnam, corresponds very closely with this cast presented to the College of Surgeons by Professor Retzius, and more closely still with some of the very fine skulls obtained by me from Frilford. Professor Ecker, in writing of this cast,^b observes, apparently without having Retzius' comparison above quoted of such skulls to the Scandinavian Gothic type before his mind, that it resembles the skulls he has described as "Grave Row," "Reihen-Gräber" skulls, and assigned to the ancient Germanic and modern Swedish peoples. Very similar skulls, again, I have obtained from Romano-British cemeteries of the later times of the Empire, as testified to by archæological evidence, at Long Wittenham, in Berkshire, through the kindness of the Rev. J. C. Clutterbuck; from Helmingham, in Suffolk, through the agency of the Rev. G. Cardew, and from Towyn-y-Capel, Holyhead, by that of the Hon. W. O. Stanley. The ancient British skull from a cist at Winterborne Monkton, North Wilts, figured by Dr. Thurnam, *Crania Britannica*, Plate 58, is closely similar in contour and proportions, as taken by measurement, to the variety of which I am here treating. The osteological peculiarities of this "elongated oval Romano-British type," as seen at Frilford, shew us that we have to deal, there at least, with *times of civilization*. For civilization differs from heathendom in nothing more markedly to the eye of the craniologist than in the age to which persons who have lived under its influences attain; and the long

^a See *Catalogue*, Osteological Series, ii. 880, Prep. 5709.

^b *Archiv für Anthropologie*, i. 2, p. 283. As Professor Ecker considers his *Reihengräberform* to correspond with the "Hohberg" type of His and Rüttimeyer, it would appear that he would consider this cast as belonging to that class from which, however, its cubic capacity differentiates it.

skulls of which I am now speaking differ very strikingly from the long and narrow skulls described by Dr. Thurnam in this very particular, that in very many cases they belonged to very aged individuals.^a The greater average stature of this variety of Celt (5 feet 8 inches as against 5 feet 6 inches of the older form,) may perhaps be in like manner ascribed to the greater civilization and command of the means of sustenance which we know them to have possessed. I have referred eleven female skulls to this type as against twenty-one male; the female skulls in many cases approaching very closely to the proportions of the medium-sized male skulls.^b A much greater difference, on the other hand—viz., as much as 8·5 inches, judging from the average approximatively obtained from the measurement of the long bones of ten women referred to this type—appears to have existed between the statures of either sex in this type than exists between the statures of modern^c English men and women. It may be said that the estimation of the stature by the various methods which take one or more of the long bones as their standard, is amenable always to several sources of fallacy, and more especially in the case of female skeletons; but in savage races^d at the present day an average difference nearly equal to that just given, as deduced from my measurements, has been observed to exist between the statures of the two sexes. And though the Romano-Britons must be considered to have been a civilised population, it must be borne in mind that the physical comfort, upon which such matters as stature depend, of their times was something very different from that of ours, when coal and glass^e are more or less within the reach of the poorest settled inhabitants of our country. The greater relative stature of the males of this variety of the

^a See Dr. Thurnam, *op. cit.* p. 60.

^b Huschke, *Schädel, Hirn, und Seele*, p. 48; Holder, *Arch. für Anthropologie*, ii. 1, p. 55.

^c The average height of 295 adult male patients examined in the Somerset County Lunatic Asylum by Dr. Boyd, and recorded by him in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1861, p. 261, varied from 67·8 to 65 inches; that of 233 females from 63·2 to 61·6 inches. The average height of the modern German male is given by Vierordt in his *Grundriss der Physiologie*, 2nd ed. p. 460, as 172 centimètres (5 feet 3½ inches); that of the German female as 164 (5 feet 2¼ inches). In the long barrow explored by Dr. Thurnam (*l.c.* p. 27) at Tilshead, three male skeletons varied in length from 5 feet 5 inches to 5 feet 8 inches, and three female skeletons from 4 feet 9 inches to 5 feet 3 inches. The average height of the dolichocephalic men from megalithic and other long barrows is given by the same author (*l.c.* pp. 40, 41) as 5 feet 5 inches as against 5 feet 9 inches for the brachycephalic men from circular barrows.

^d Sir Andrew Smith, K.C.B. has kindly informed me that he can safely state from extensive observation made during 17 years' residence in South Africa, that the Amakosa Kaffirs, to the eastward of the Colony, average, men 5 feet 8½ inches, women 5 feet 1½ inch.

^e For introduction of panes of glass, or at least of the manufacturers of them, into England in 680 A.D., see Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 17, and *per contra* Corbet Anderson, *Uriconium* 1867, p. 69, *ibique citata*.

Romanised Celt may perhaps be accounted for by their having been more exposed to and invigorated by the influences of an out-of-door life ; whilst the stature of the females, which is so disproportionately smaller as compared with modern ratios, may have been due to their spending their lives inside houses which, if light must have been cold, if warm must have been dark—which had no chimneys, and only in the case of the rich, hypocausts, and even in their case probably no glass.

Fourthly, a second form of cranium differing from the one just described is found with similar archæological surroundings. It resembles this form in its noble proportions and indications of culture ; it equals or exceeds it in length, and is distinguished from it by its greater breadth, and, whilst considering it to correspond to the “ Sion Typus ” of His and Rutimeyer, I have spoken of it in my catalogue and tables as the “ globose Romano-British ” type. A very large proportion, six out of the eleven female crania, and seven out of the ten male crania, referred by me to this type, belonged to persons of considerable age. The men attained an average stature of 5 feet 8·5 inches. The crania and the other bones of this variety of men enjoying Romano-British civilisation, have resisted the ravages of time better than those of the other form. There is no reason, however, for supposing that this valuable peculiarity is referable to any conditions not intrinsic to the bones themselves. The mode of their sepulture is identical with that of the other form, and one of the best marked specimens of the type in question was taken from a grave over which an Anglo-Saxon urn containing the burnt bones of an adult was found. The larger skulls in this series belonged in all but one instance to men of a stature little, or not at all, short of six feet, and this large stature must not be forgotten when we admire the large size of their brain-case. Only one female skull, which at all approximates in size to these larger crania, has come into my hands at Frilford ; and this skull belonged to a woman of little, if at all, more than five feet one inch in height. But I incline to think that the female crania, seven in number, which I have spoken of as “ the River-bed type modified by increase of size,” and which constitute in the tabular view to which I allude a third variety of the Romano-British series, with an average stature of four feet nine inches and a-half, are to be considered as the female representatives of the “ globose Romano-British type.” For, strikingly similar as the contour of these skulls is to that assigned by Professor Huxley^a to his “ River-bed skulls ” their capacity exceeds that of those crania, and their measurements come to correspond very closely with those of the smaller male skulls belonging to

^a See *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, p. 120.

individuals of smaller stature of the globose Romano-British type, whilst in their solid texture they resemble the larger skulls of that division.

Fac-similes of these female crania have been procured from many excavations in this country. I have found them in the "Long Barrow" at Crawley, which has been already spoken of as containing skeletons with crania of the brachycephalic British type, and which, it should be added, has furnished us with evidence as to female skulls corresponding to the large brachycephalic male skulls, and differing, therefore, considerably from every variety of the River-bed type. A skull very closely similar to this Frilford variety of pre-Saxon times may be seen in the museum of the London College of Surgeons, under the number "5712 R" in the Catalogue, and with the title "Peat skull." And, lastly, a modern female skull obtained for me by Dyce Duckworth, Esq., M.D., from the Hinter-Rhein-Thal, near the Splügen Pass, the country of the "Disentis" type of the Swiss anatomists, would have shown me, had other evidence been wanting, that this form of cranium has persisted into, and is abundant in, our own day.

A modification of the River-bed type is presented to us in certain small crania to which I have applied the term "cylindrocephalic." In this form represented by two female and undoubtedly pre-Saxon crania (No. ii. Sept. 1867, and No. iv. Jan. 1868,) the frontal and parietal tuberosities are nearly or quite obsolete, and the calvarium, elongating as if in compensation, becomes somewhat cylindroidal in its antero-posterior outline.

Only one male cranium has been found by me at Frilford which I should class with the River-bed male skull from Muskhams, and the Towyn-y-Capel skulls so intelligibly described by Prof. Huxley in the *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, p. 120, and frequently examined by myself in the Museum of the College of Surgeons. This cranium belonged to a strong man of six feet, beyond the middle period of life, who seems, from the direction of his grave, and the copper staining upon his somewhat prognathic jaws and collar bone, to have been acknowledged as a Romano-Briton, and to have been buried just as individuals whose osteological remains speak with some authority to their greater culture. By the possession of a slightly greater breadth, and consequently a much higher cephalic index, 78 as against 76 of the typical male River-bed skull just specified, this skull shows a tendency towards assuming the outlines of the smaller representatives of the globose Romano-British type. The fact that but one male against nine female skulls of the River-bed type has been found at Frilford amidst so many other types of head, and so many marks of civilization, is suggestive of the explanation which their having belonged to a slave population

would more or less satisfactorily give. The River-bed skulls from the barrow at Crawley which have come into my hands are also all female, as I think, but this barrow has by no means been exhaustively explored. And I incline, though doubtfully, not having had the pelvis nor the long bones to aid me in forming my judgment, to refer the Towyn-y-Capel skulls in the College of Surgeons to the same sex as all the similarly-constructed crania, except the one just mentioned, found at Frilford. In the large male skulls, of which I have spoken, Professors Rüttimeyer and His would, I think, recognise their "*Sion typus*;" and assuredly they merit the titles of *Kräftigkeit* and *Würde*, which Rüttimeyer^a bestows upon them. It may be right to hold that these crania belonged to men British in blood, though here at least Roman by citizenship; but, if we assign them to the Roman immigrants, we shall have an explanation of the enlargement of the River-bed type of skull suggested to us at once in the very probable hypothesis of intermarriages taking place between foreigners and the, possibly aboriginal, inhabitants of the country, who may have been actually slaves, but must certainly have been in a lower state of civilization. And in this hypothesis the paucity of male River-bed skulls would also find an explanation.

The Roman immigrants had all but certainly a preponderating proportion of males amongst them, and it would be natural to suppose that the same disproportion prevailed similarly among the swarms of the less settled, less civilised, Saxons. But I am bound to say that the craniological evidence before me leads me to think that the reverse of this very reasonable anticipation was what actually took place, at all events here; for the crania found buried with the Anglo-Saxon insignia of the female sex are most distinctly different, both as to signs of culture, and as to type and contour, from the crania which belonged to the Romano-British women exhumed here. I do not think these Rowenas with somewhat prognathic jaws, and small unhandsomely contoured calvaria, could have been "exceedingly fair and goodly to look upon;" and I am certain that Martial, though he may not have been a physiognomist, would never have said of these Saxon females what he said of the British lady, Claudia Rufina,^b that she might have been taken by a Roman matron for one of her own country-women.

^a *Jahrbuch der Schweizer Alpen* for 1864, p. 398.

^b Claudia cœruleis quum sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, quam Latia pectora plebis habet—
Quale decus formæ, Romanam credere matres
Italides possunt.—xi. 53.

M. Serres, on the other hand, appears^a to have convinced himself that in the Merovingian cemetery of Londinières the males belonged to the Scandinavian and the females to the Celtic race. And, upon the general considerations which have been very clearly and convincingly put forward by Professor Pearson^b and by Mr. L. O. Pike,^c I should be inclined to think that wholesale massacres of the conquered Romano-Britons were rare, and that wholesale importations of Anglo-Saxon women were not much more frequent. Still Anderida was levelled with the ground, and its women and children, as well as its male inhabitants, were put to the sword. And where the obstinate resistance of the inhabitants may not have provoked the invaders into cruelty, which would have been unnatural, even in the notoriously cruel Saxon (see Salvian, *cit.* Kingsley, *Roman and Teuton*, p. 46), the civilization of the former may very well have attained to such a level as to make them think a retreat into Damnonia preferable to remaining on the same spot with a race so destitute, as the Saxons were, both of the means and appliances of the arts and manufactures which make this life enjoyable, and of the beliefs which make the prospect of another comforting. At Frilford the relics of Roman manufacture, as well as other remains, show, as I have said, that a population must have existed there previously to the Saxon invasion, which was in the possession of a very considerable share of the material and other elements of the civilization of that period. The very name of this Romanized settlement has been lost, and the Saxon name Frilford, like that of Garford, a village a few hundred yards distant, may possibly speak, as the Rev. Isaac Taylor, in his *Names and Places*, has suggested with reference to Gateshead,^d to the destruction of a bridge by the worshippers of Frea. The name, indeed, seems to point to the same explanation as the great number of urns; and to suggest that the very real heathenism of the soldiers of Cerdic may have driven away a population who might have acquiesced in submission to such professed Christians as the soldiers of Clovis exhumed at Londinières. Such a story as that which Bede tells us^e of the refusal of the British priests to eat in company with the Saxons, even in his time, enables us to understand in what abhorrence the Christians must have held them in the days

^a Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 188, ed. i.; *Comptes Rendus*, xxxvii. p. 518; *L'Athenæum Français*, Oct. 22, 1853, p. 1013.

^b *Op. cit.* p. 100.

^c *The English and their Origin*, pp. 59, *et seqq.*

^d See p. 266, 267. Gateshead, however, may mean *Capræ Caput*. See Bede *H. E.* iii. 21.

^e *H. E.* ii. 4, ii. 20.

of cremation.^a Some Lloegrians, as the Triads tell us,^b “became as Saxons;” but many of the Celtic tribes, as their poems show us, preferred emigration to submission and coalescence. The large Romanized towns, no doubt, made terms with the Saxons, who abhorred city life,^c and who would probably be content to leave the unwarlike burghers in a condition of heavily-taxed submissiveness. The villages would be more exposed to the violence and lawlessness of hordes made insolent by conquest than the large towns; and I am inclined to think that where we find Roman remains succeeded by relics of the Anglo-Saxon cremation period, on a locality which now bears an Anglo-Saxon name, emigration or extirpation of a Christian population may have very often entered into the now irrecoverable history of the locality.

I further suspect that the heathenism of the Anglo-Saxon domination during the hundred and fifty years^d which elapsed between the time of Hengist and that of Augustine is one and not an unimportant factor in the complex aggregation of conditions which has given us the Germanic language which we speak. Whilst and where heathenism reigned supreme, the performance of the Church services would doubtless cease; and in an age of few books, and those in manuscript, and in a country which, with whatever centres of civilization and population, was, after all, but thinly peopled, it is easy to understand how the language of the vanquished succumbed in three or four generations to that of the victors, whose relics speak to their great numbers being so ubiquitously scattered over England. Even in France, where the Merovingians allowed every citizen to declare what law, Frank or Roman, he would live under, and where the priests used the Theodosian code, and so put the Germanic idiom at a disadvantage, it was still employed by the kings and nobles even in the Carolingian period.^e On the other

^a See also *Crania Britannica*, p. 184, vol. i. and pl. xx. p. 3.

^b Pike, *op. cit.* p. 46.

^c See Pearson, *op. cit.* p. 264.

^d Professor Pearson, *History of England*, i. 101, suggests that the long duration of the struggle may have caused the victory of the Saxon Language, by allowing of the perpetual fresh arrivals of German speaking invaders.

^e See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. 1838, vi. 118, 351, 376, chap. 38, viii. 156. For an instance of the power obtained and exercised by the Christian Ministers, see Fleury, *Eccl. Hist.* viii. 34, 50, of the Council of Macon. Fleury in his small work, *Essays on Ecclesiastical History*, tells us, p. 203, English Transl. 1721, that the Goths, Franks, and other German people dispersed into several parts of the Roman Provinces, were so few in comparison with the ancient inhabitants that it was not thought necessary to change the language of the Church on their account. On the other hand, Bede tells us, that in his time God was served in five several languages in Britain, namely, Anglorum, Britonum, Scotorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum. See also Taylor, *Words and Places*, 1864, p. 151; Lingard, *Hist. A.-S. Church*, i. 307.

hand, during my somewhat considerable practice in the way of exhuming Saxons, and my gradual familiarization with the two facts of their great aptness at destroying and of their great slowness in elaborating material civilization, a doubt has little by little grown up in my mind as to the extent of the debt which we are so commonly supposed to owe to our Anglo-Saxon conquerors. That they conquered a much divided and not very numerous Romanized population of Christians, and overrun the greater part, if not the whole, of England Proper whilst yet heathens, and within the comparatively short space of time during which they remained such, proves, of course, that the Saxons were superior to the Britons in the arts of war as it was then understood and carried on. But though war in our days is very intimately dependent upon the arts of peace, proficiency in the one set of accomplishments was by no means so correlated with proficiency in the other fourteen hundred years ago. And though my investigations have made me a very firm believer in the reality of the Saxon "man and steel, the soldier and his sword," they have not revealed to me any convincing evidence of the importation into this country by these invaders of any such distinctive civilization as the language often held as to our "old Teutonic constitution," or "the landing of Hengist in Thanet having been the birthday of English liberty," would seem to pre-suppose. Civilization and culture are not wholly dependent upon material conditions, but I apprehend they cannot exist without giving us some material and tangible evidence of their existence, at all events *secundum statum præsentem*, of a very different kind from what we find in pre-Augustinian Anglo-Saxon interments in England. Mr. Merivale's dictum^a to the effect that "it may appear that moral culture is almost altogether independent of material progress," is too much out of keeping with the ordinarily-accepted views of the way in which the external world works upon human nature, *curis acuens mortalia corda*, to need discussion at length; and when Professor Pearson^b says "it would be unjust to judge the Teutonic tribes of the fifth century by the low development of the mechanical arts among them," we expect to have evidence of some other arts and pursuits having somehow or other attained to a compensatory high development amongst these races at that time. Guizot,^c it is well known, has compared the social and political condition of the Germanic races at this period of their history to that

^a *Conversion of the Northern Nations*, p. 186.

^b See, however, his *History of England*, pp. 44, 51, 103, 112, 130, 264. The high development of the pictorial art to which Professor Westwood's magnificent work, recently (1868) published, speaks, belongs to Christianized, and therefore as little to "unalloyed Saxondom" as do Cædmon, Bede, or Alcuin.

^c *Hist. Civ. Franc.* lect. vii. tom. i. cit. Merivale, *ubi supra*, note G, p. 185.

of the Red Indians; and when we find Sharon Turner, the historian of the Anglo-Saxons, telling us^a that Ethelbert, after his conversion by Augustine, "became distinguished as the author of the first written Saxon laws which have descended to us, or which are known to have been established, an important national benefit for which he may have been indebted to his Christian teachers, as there is no evidence that the Saxons wrote any compositions before," we may be inclined to think that the views of Guizot are nearer to the truth than those of Ozanam,^b Greenwood, and Rogge.

We have historical, literary, archæological, and anatomical evidence for saying that two or more distinct varieties of men existed both in England and France, both previously to and during the periods of the Roman and of the Teutonic invasions and dominations.^c The earliest Welsh traditions, Professor Pearson informs me, speak "of the social races inhabiting Britain, the Kymry, the Lloegrwys, and the Brythons," all descended from the Kymry. The word "Kymry" itself, however, has been supposed, like the words "Frank" and "Aleman," to denote social or confederative, rather than genealogical, community; and, though we are warned thus *in limine* against any premature attempt

^a *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, i. 332. See also Taylor, *Words and Places*, p. 339, and *per contra*, Kemble, on Runes, *Archæologia*, xxviii.

^b Ozanam, however, *cit. Merivale*, *l.c.* 187, says, "Les lois de l'ancienne Germanie ne nous sont connues que par les témoignages incomplets des anciens, par la réduction tardive des codes barbares, par les coutumes du moyen âge. Il y reste donc beaucoup de contradictions, d'incertitudes, et de lacunes." Gibbon may be shown to be similarly self-contradictory by a comparison *inter se* of the following passages; vol. i. chap. ix. p. 362, ed. Milman, 1838; vol. vi. chap. xxxviii. p. 325; vol. v. chap. xxxi. p. 317. The stories told of the two Gothic Princes in the two latter passages are quite inconsistent with the statement contained in the first of the three, to the effect that "in the rude institutions of the barbarians of the woods of Germany, we may still distinguish the original principles of our present laws and manners." See Finlason's Introduction to Reeves' *History of the English Law*, 1869, p. xl.; and Professor Pearson's *Historical Maps*, 1869, where at p. vii. the Professor speaks of the Saxon invaders as consisting of "a few boat-loads of barbarians." I agree as to the barbarism, but differ as to the numbers of the Anglo-Saxons. Both these valuable works came into my hands after the coming of these sheets from the printers. See *per contra*, B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, preface, p. xxii.

^c Gibbon, v. 351, ed. 1838, says, "If the *princes* of Britain relapsed into barbarism whilst the *cities* studiously preserved the laws and manners of Rome, the whole island must have been gradually divided by the distinction of two national parties. See also Pearson, *l.c.* pp. 99, 100; Coote's *Neglected Fact in English History*, pp. 144, 149, 169; Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*; Gododin, *Poems*, p. 382, 394, 412; Broca, *Recherches sur l'Ethnologie de la France*, Mem. Soc. Anthropol. de Paris, tom. i. 1860; Sir William R. Wilde, *Beauties of the Boyne*, pp. 229, 232; Dr. Thurman, "On the two principal forms of Ancient British and Gaulish Skulls," *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London*, vol. i. *ibique citata*; Huxley, *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, pp. 114, *seqq.*

to harmonize the results of philological with those of craniographical inquiry, it may not be entirely hopeless to attempt to harmonise the traditions which tell us that the Romanised town populations, the "Lloegrians," took the side of the Saxons against their own countrymen, with the facts of our "finds" in cemeteries. Now, these facts, as they have presented themselves to me, I have, with the help of light borrowed from many other investigators, read thus. Two varieties of capacious erania, one dolichocephalic and the other brachycephalic, have been found by me in cemeteries referrible by their archæological characters to the periods correspondng with, and immediately subsequent to the close of the Roman domination in England. These two varieties of skulls are not ordinarily found occupying one and the same tumulus, at least with the relative positions which the remains of two races inhabiting the same district peacefully usually hold to each other, and I incline, though but doubtfully, to anticipate that evidence will be ultimately produced to identify the dolichocephali in question with the Lloegrian traitors, and the brachycephali with that portion of the Kymry which preferred exile to the Saxon yoke. The fact of the dolichocephali having been found abundantly (see p. 455, *supra*) in the Suffolk region of the Littus Saxonicum, where the Celt and Saxon are not known to have met as enemies when East Anglia became a kingdom, is not without its significance. Their geographical distribution may indicate a greater political pliability just as their greater variety of cranial conformation indicates a greater anatomical plasticity. In the same cemeteries with both of these varieties of skulls I have found skulls which are very closely similar to Professor Huxley's "River-bed" type of skull, and which I should be inclined to think may have belonged to a serf, or at all events to a poor, population, whose necessities may have made them as indifferent as any similar population is now to the political leanings of their masters. I should agree with Professor Huxley in considering this a very ancient form of cranium; but, though I should allow, with a knowledge of the great aptitude for modification possessed by the human eranium, that it may be connected by transitional forms with the dolichocephalic Celtic varieties,^a I am convinced that it is even more closely allied with that brachycephalic form which has been called "Ligurian" by Professor Nicolucci, which is identified with the "Disentis" type of Professors His and Rütimeyer, by Dr. Holder in his excellent paper on the ethnography of Wurtemberg,^b though the Swiss Professors themselves would demur to this

^a As taught by Professor Huxley, *l.c.* p. 120; and *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* April 19, 1866.

^b *Arch. für Anthrop.* bd. ii. hft. i. 55-57.

unification;^a and which, finally, is, I apprehend, the form considered till recently^b by nearly all continental anthropologists as the oldest of European types. I am inclined to hold that the rough-hewn brachycephalous Briton, of whom Dr. Thurnam has written in his paper on "the two principal forms of ancient British and Gaulish skulls,"^c was distinct from the brachycephalous "Ligurian," though very possibly descended from one common stock; just as I should think it very probable that the cultured brachycephalous skulls of which I have spoken were produced simply by the operation of civilising influences upon the rougher crania of similar type, but of earlier times; and as I should suppose that Roman civilization and Roman inter-crossing elaborated the larger out of the smaller and earlier dolichocephalic skulls of this country. The five varieties which I believe may be thus distinguishable—viz., the two brachycephalous, and the two dolichocephalous, cultured and uncultured respectively, and the "Ligurian"—will be found to be connected with each other by inosculant forms. Even under conditions of the most primitive^d simplicity and peacefulness, the human cranium shows a great tendency to variation; and in England we must recollect that this essential liability to variation was much intensified in early times by the migrations and immigrations of the Belgæ from the continent; by those of the pastoral inhabitants of the then thinly peopled, forest-covered country; and in later times by those of the Romans and Saxons. Most or all invasions entail more or less of intermarriage between the invaders and the invaded; and the craniographer who considers what very motley hordes passed into England under the names "Roman" and "Saxon" respectively, and for what long periods these immigrations continued to be made, will be cautious as to his inferences. Other disturbing conditions were introduced by the invasions specified: among them I need only mention the establishment of an antithesis between town and country life, which, in a country intersected by woods and ill-provided with roads, is equivalent to the establishment of an antithesis between civilization and savagery. Isolation, howsoever produced, whether by social, by political, or by physical barriers, tends to exaggerate the ethnical or tribal characteristics which intercross-

^a See *Crania Helvetica*, p. 41; *Arch. für Anthropologie*, i. 70, 1866; Ecker, *Cran. Germ.* pp. 76-86; Huxley, *l.c.* pp. 117-118.

^b For a discussion as to the priority in point of time of the brachycephalous or the dolichocephalous form of skull, see Mortillet, *Matériaux pour l'Histoire positive et Philosophique de l'Homme*, 1867, pp. 383-385; Ecker, *Crania German.* p. 93.

^c *On two forms*, *l.c.* p. 31-44.

^d See Bates, *Naturalist on the Amazons*, ii. p. 129, and *per contra*, Ecker, *Crania Germaniæ Meridionalis*, p. 2; Gratiolet, *Système Nerveux*, ii. 286.

ing tends to obliterate. But a subjective cause of much fallacy lies in the curiously corresponding psychological fact that one class of mind is as prone to overrate distinctions as another is to underrate differences.

In conclusion, I must be allowed to express my sense of the obligations I have incurred to Professor Phillips, whose advice and opinion I have very constantly sought; to Professor Pearson, whom I have consulted well nigh as frequently; to Heathcote Wyndham, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Merton College, who has given me assistance upon several chemical and mineralogical points which arose in the course of my investigations; to James Parker, Esq., for suggestions as to several archæological matters; and to Charles Robertson, Esq. for superintending these disinterments upon several occasions when I was unable to be present.

Catalogue of Frilford Excavations.

October and November, 1864.

I. SET.

Cranium A. Found with a fibula 2 ft. above it, wrongly described by me as a male skull in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 139. Probably an *Anglo-Saxon woman*. Middle-aged.

Cranium B. Found with a small Roman coin. Probably, from this and from anatomical characters, a *Romano-British woman*. Middle-aged. Elongated oval type.

Lower jaw from leaden coffin No. i. *Roman Man.* *C.* Middle-aged. In this leaden coffin a coin of Constantine the Great was found.

Calvarium E. Asymmetrical and with a partly open frontal suture. It is possible, though this calvarium came into my hands a month later than the lower jaw *C*, that it belonged to it. Mr. Akerman says (p. 3, *Proc. Soc. Ant. l.c.*) that the remains from the two coffins were handed over to me for examination.

Calvarium D. Incomplete. From a second leaden coffin. Middle-aged man. Capacious.

Fragments of second lower jaw, possibly belonging to calvarium *D*.

Jan. 25, 1867.

II. SET.

i. *Skull* of "Hohberg" type of His and Rüttimeyer, with long and other bones, from a leaden coffin, in which were found five coins, one of which was of Constantine the younger, a second of Valens, and a third of Gratian, obiit A.D. 383. Femur $19\frac{1}{8}$, humerus 13.9. Old man.

ii. *Skull* of "Sion" type of His and Rüttimeyer, with long and other bones, from a leaden coffin, in which no coins were found. Clavicle and second left metatarsal broken and repaired during life.

iii. *Coins* (some of which were lost in sending by post), and leaden coffins.

iv. *Plain urn*, figured in Plate XXIV. fig. 4, which contained the bones of a child probably 2 to 3 years old.

2 old men.
2 middle aged men.
2 middle aged women,
1 child.
—
7 bodies.

April 16, May 9, 16, 1867.

- i. *Skull of old man*, of "Sion" or globose Romano-British type. Skull circumference, $22\frac{1}{4}$ ins. Femur, $20\frac{1}{4}$ ins. Tibia, $15\frac{1}{4}$ ins. Height, 6 ft. 1 in.
- ii. *Skull of young woman*, of "enlarged River-bed type," see p. 450, *supra*, with some osteophytic deposit internally, æt. 20 to 25. Humerus, 10·3 ins. Tibia, 11·7 ins. Stature, *circa* 4 ft. 6 in.
- iii. *Lower jaw, and frontal bone, platycephalic*, said to have been found with umbo No. v. Old man.
- iiiⁱ. *Second lower jaw*, also said to have been found with umbo. Very old man.
- iv.
- v. *Umbo*, reported to have been found with jaws iii. and iii.ⁱ but in the grave in which the umbo was reported to have been found a secondary interment was supposed to have taken place, a tibia and femur having been observed in it lying with their relative positions reversed.
- vi. *Calvarium of young woman*, of "enlarged River-bed type," with cephalic index 77, and some leaning towards the smaller type on the one side, as well as to the globose Romano-British male skull vi. of Sept. 1867, on the other. It resembles skulls vi. of April 1, 1868, and xi. of same date, and very possibly may be the female form of the Romano-British globose type. It is mainly in length that these female skulls are inferior to the smaller male skulls of the "Sion" type. N.B.—8 millimètres is the average excess of male length. Femur, 13 ins. Humerus, 10 ins. Mean stature from these two bones, 4 ft. 2·5 ins. A phalanx of an ox and a piece of pottery were sent with this skull. This skull was found very near an infant's.
- vi. *Child about time of birth*.
- vii. *Skull of very old man*, of Romano-British elongated type. Humerus, 13·2 ins. Radius, 9·2 ins. Exostotic growths on humerus. Stature, 5 ft. 10 ins.
- viii. *Skull of strong young man*, of Romano-British elongated type. No long bones.
- viiiⁱ. *Skull of child*, first dentition, middle period of.
- ix. *Bones of child*, first dentition, early period of.
- ix. *Bones of child*, first dentition, early period of.
- x. *Skeleton of young man* of globose Romano-British type, very similar to skull ix. of March 17, 1868. Found with fragments of Roman pottery. Femur, 17 ins. Humerus, 12·5 ins. Radius, 9·2 ins. Ulna, 10·1 ins. Stature, 5 ft. 4 ins. Some carious teeth.
- xi. *Skull of young woman*, of Romano-British elongated type.
- xi. *Skull of young woman*, (?) of Romano-British globose type.
- xi. *Skull of young man* (?) Type (?).
- xii. *Calvarium of young woman*, of Romano-British elongated type, with osteophyte internally. Much water-worn, teeth all good but one, which is carious.
- xiii. *Skull and long bones of young Anglo-Saxon woman*, from a shallow 18-in. grave running from west by south to east by north, the deviation from orientation being 18° north. Two fibulæ, four or five beads, and the fragment of an urn figured Plate XXIV. fig. 1. Femur, 17 ins. Tibia, 14 ins. Stature, 5 ft. 4 ins. A piece of Anglo-Saxon and another of Roman pottery found in this grave, of small size.

4 old men.
6 young women.
1 infant.
3 children.
2 young men.
1 doubtful.
—
17 bodies.

III. SET.

- xiv. *Skull of old man*, of "Hohberg" type, with the long bones. A large wound through skull, healed during life. Grave 3 ft. 6 in. deep, without relics, running in a direction from N.W. to S.E. Femur 20 in. long. Stature 6 ft. All the molars of upper jaw are lost. In the lower jaw the two anterior molars are left. Some teeth are carious; they are small in size. The grave was immediately on the right of that of the Anglo-Saxon woman xiii.
- xv. *Skull of Romano-British woman*, with long bones, from a grave of same direction but not quite the same depth as the preceding—2 ft. 9 in. Femur, 16 in. Humerus, 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Stature, 5 ft. A good instance, as is also xiii. of Sept. 26, 1868, xxiv. of Feb. 21, 1868, and cranium A of Oct. 1864, of the close adherence to type which female skulls, especially of the elongated Romano-British type, show.
- xvi. *Skull of very old man*, $\frac{8}{16}$ inch thick, of elongated British type, with sagittal furrow posteriorly. No relics.
- xvii. *Patterned cremation urn*, containing bones of child before period of second dentition. Fig. 3, Pl. XXIV.
- xviii. *Plain urn*, containing the bones of a person about the period of puberty. Fig. 2, Pl. XXIV.
- xix. *Skull of woman*, middle-aged, of elongated Romano-British type. Charred matter and pottery, and carious teeth from the grave. Femur, 16 in. Stature, 5 ft.
- xx. *Bones of child* under 6 years.
- xxi. *Skull of young person* with abnormal succession of teeth. Spongy growths in orbits and hypertrophic calvarium. Reported to have been found with two pieces of blackish pottery and a nail.
- xxii. *Skull of young man*, of "Hohberg" type, wanting jaws. Femur, 18.3 in. Stature, 5 ft. 11 in. Sent with pieces of pseudo-Samian ware.
- xxiii. *Skull of male*, of "Sion" type. Massive, weighty. Belonged to a man past middle period of life. Many teeth lost, both before and after death.
- xxiv. *Skull of young person, probably woman*. Fragmentary, without history.
- xxv. Ditto ditto. Teeth carious.
- xxvi. *Lower jaw of old person*, with six teeth.
- xxvii. *Bones of old woman*, Dec. 31, 1867. Elongated British type. Femur, 15 in. Stature, 4 ft. 8 in. Coffin hooping and nails found in grave.
- xxviii. Fragments of an urn of Anglo-Saxon ware, said to have been found with a burnt bone, Dec. 31, 1867.

1 old woman.
3 old men.
1 old person, sex ?
3 young women.
2 young persons, sex ?
1 young man.
2 children.
1 Middle-aged woman.
—
14 bodies.

September 16, 17, 18, 1867.

IV. SET.

- i. *Calvarium and bones of old woman* from a grave running from N.N.W. by N.W. to S.S.E. by S.E. 3 ft. 2 in. deep down to the coralline oolite. A burnt flint, some pseudo-Samian ware, and some gray lathe-turned pottery, were found in the grave with her. Femur, 16 $\frac{3}{8}$ ins. Radius, 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Stature, 5 ft. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Of enlarged "River-bed" type. Lower jaw nearly destroyed by water-wear.
- ii. *Similar calvarium from continuation of same trench*. "Cylindrocephalic" female skull. Stature, 5 ft. 4 ins. Femur, 17 ins.
- iii. *Skull and long bones of young man of elongated British type*, from continuation of same trench.

A sheep's tooth close by his jaws, and two flints. Stature, 5 ft. 10 ins. Right fibula a good deal curved, epiphyses not fused.

iv. *Skull of young Anglo-Saxon*, found with spear, figured Plate XXIII. fig. 6, and umbo. The spear at right side of head with point upwards. This had been a secondary interment, the upper jaw of a very old man (iv¹.) having been found close to this skull, as also a manubrium sterni with articular facet for first left rib much enlarged, which could not have belonged to this skeleton. The grave was broader than the others, and had large stones set along its sides. Its direction was W.N.W. to E.S.E.

iv¹. *Upper jaw of old person, probably male*. Sternum and large head of humerus and os calcis with it.

v. *Skull of very old man*, with skeleton, from continuation of trench whence the Anglo-Saxon No. iv. came. The direction of the grave the same, but no relics nor any stones set around it. Skull like iv. and xi. of March 17, and i. of March 23, 1868. A mixed form combining the Hohberg with the Sion type. Can these skulls have belonged to Christian Anglo-Saxons? See p. 448, *supra*. Femur, 18 ins. Stature, 5 ft. 8 ins.

vi. *Skull of old man* of "Sion" type found with skeleton at a depth of 15 inches below the patterned urn ix. figured in Plate XXIII. fig. 1, the urn occupying a space corresponding with the top of the sacrum of the skeleton below. Skull bones a little roughened by water-wear, but also strongly made, and indicating, as do the other bones also, both age and great strength by their various outstanding processes. Ceph. index, 78. Stature, 5 ft. 8 ins. Found with several pieces of flint and with pieces of pottery.

vii. *Skeleton of very old man*, of elongated Romano-British type. A typical skull such as No. 5709 in Royal College of Surgeons, which belonged to an "ancient aboriginal inhabitant of Scandinavia regarded as the Celt;" and called "dolichocephalic by the donor Professor Retzius." Found in a trench between the trench with skeleton No. vi. in it to the south, and the one with the Anglo-Saxon No. iv. in it to the north. Femur, 19½ ins. Stature, 5 ft. 11 ins. Osseous up-growth of acetabulum, and hypertrophy of head of femur to correspond. Cephalic index, 72.

viii. *Young woman*, æt. 17 to 19, from trench in same direction, but to south of others, dug Sept. 1867, and to north of trench containing Romano-British woman, xv. of May, 1867. Found with flints and shards.

ix. *Urn* found above skeleton vi. figured in Plate XXIII. fig. 1, containing bones of child under 8.

x. Fragment of probably a *holy-water vessel*, figured in Plate XXIII. fig. 2.

About 4 ft. of ground had fallen in to the right of the pit, looking towards the River Ock.

2 old women.
1 young woman.
4 old men.
2 young men.
1 child.
—
10 bodies.

January 9, 1868.

i. *Child's bones*, between 9 and 10 æt. Many fragments of scoriform lava, probably Niedermennig, (Daubeny, *Volcanos*, p. 50); no other relics brought with it; compare Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 24, and account of Anglo-Saxon woman, xxii. Jan. 6, 1869. (Cf. Schaafhausen, *Die Germanische Grabstätten am Rhein*, 1868, p. 122, and p. 25, *supra*.)

ii. and iii. *Young women* (20, 23) placed close, side by side, in the same trench. ii. a little shallower than iii. and a little further forward, and with the left humerus across the cervical region of iii. Roman pottery and nails. The legs of the two skeletons were wide apart. The iron

relics (nails) were found on the pelvis. No nails near the feet. Probably buried at same time; coffins in same trench.

- iii^a. *Delicate unpatterned urn* with child's bones, about 6 in. below the surface, and 18 in. above skull No. iv.; the place about a yard to the right of the place where the patterned urn of September 17, 1867, was found. Child's age towards the end of 5-6th year. See Plate XXIII. fig. 5.
- iv. *Old woman's skull*, much senile atrophy, found 18 in. below urn iii^a. with face upwards. No soil had fallen into the skull; one coin, the largest, was found on lower jaw; two smaller ones on atlas and axis, which are stained in consequence. Coins not identified. One nail was found on the right side of the head, but none on the right, nor at the feet. All the bones are very light. Humerus, 10 7/10 in. Femur, 14.5 in. gives stature 4 ft. 6 in.; humerus (say 11 in.) gives stature 4 ft. 10.6 in.; mean 4 ft. 8.3 in. skull small, cylindrocephalic.
- v. *Skull of a child*, removed by the men. Close by was found a piece of lead, possibly from a leaden coffin, and with the bones an ulna, which had belonged to a very powerful man, which had been part of a fractured segment repaired during life. Compare account given p. 452, *supra*, of skeletons from leaden coffins. First dentition complete; second not begun.

January 15, 1868.

- vi. *Strong urn*, not patterned, containing child's bones. Removed by men from earth a little to right of No. i. of Jan. 9. Aged probably about 9-10. Premolars not displaced; milk molars.
- vii. *Child's bones*, a little to right of urn vi. Early period of first dentition.
- viii. *Child's bones* under 6, at extreme left of "fall," *i.e.* of mass of earth thrown down in quarrying operations. Removed by men.
- ix. *Young man*, with nails and Roman pottery, nails at head and feet. Elongated British type.
- x. *Child*, much decayed. Early period of first dentition.
- xi. *Calvarium, man*, middle age, with pot and flint. Long bones much water-worn. Elongated British type. No lower nor upper jaw.
- xii. *Old man*. Face upwards, and left arm across body. About middle of "fall" and to right of viii. and xi. Elongated British type, but vertically carinate like the preceding specimen. The crossing of the arms may point to his being an Anglo-Saxon. See xxii., Jan. 6, 1869.
- xiii. *Old woman*. Calvaria and femora, 16.7 in. Osteophytes and pacchionian pits. Waterworn. "Sion" type. Compare vi. of April 1, 1868; xi. of April 1, 1868; vi. of May, 1867.
- xiv. *Old woman*. Skeleton sent by carrier. Right humerus, 11.7; left, 11.2. Femur, 13.4. Anglo-Saxon woman.

January 20, 1868.

- xv. *Knife*, with much rust and (?) woody fibre adhering to it. Found close to xii. in the loose earth which had fallen to the bottom of the pit. Could this knife have belonged to the little old woman, xiv.? see skull, which is much more like that of the Anglo-Saxon woman xiii. of May, 1867.
- xvi. *Urn*, a little to the left of the knee of xiii. of January 15. *The urn unopened.*
- xvii. *Skeleton of woman (young)*. Her tibiae were 1 ft. beneath the humerus of an Anglo-Saxon, xviii., who was lying in a direction from S. S.S.W. to N. N.N.W. and at right angles to

3 children.
3 women, 1 old.
2 young.
—
6 bodies.

4 children.
1 young man.
1 middle-aged man.
1 old man.
2 old women.
—
9 bodies.

her grave, which was in the ordinary Romano-British direction from W.N.W. to E.S.E. In the intersection of the graves a beautiful coin of Constans was found. Left radius injured during life and repaired. Both humeri malformed. With this came part of upper jaw of old person, with three teeth from canines inclusive backwards, of elongated Romano-British type. Stature, 4 ft. 11 in.

1 young woman.
1 age and sex uncertain.

2 bodies.

February 8, 1868.

- xviii. *Anglo-Saxon young man*, with umbo, spear, knife (no buckle), Roman tiles, stones round grave; coin of Constans in intersection of his grave with that of xvii.; some animal's (sheep?) bones in grave (see Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, introd. p. xvii.); grave from head S. S.S.W. to N. N.N.E.; foot at right angles to grave xvii. 2 ft. deep; xvii. 3 ft. A tooth of ox between head of Anglo-Saxon and feet of Romano-British woman. Femora only partially recovered, a large stone over their lower ends having crushed them very much. Fragments of great size. Clavicles long and curved. Humerus, 13.1; radius, 9.3. For Roman tilings, see *Archiv für Anthropologie*, i. 3, 356; (See xxii. of Jan. 6, 1869).
- xix. *Man, strong, beyond middle of life, probably*. Head of River-bed type, parietal protuberance. Ribs broken and repaired in life; abscess at root of one molar. A good deal of exostosis on left humerus. Copper staining on jaw, and clavicle. No nails found with body. Romano-British direction of grave. See page 458, *supra*.
- xx. *Skull of middle-aged man*, with Roman tile. Very elongated, with long bones. Bones loose. Skull peculiarly elongated.
- xxi. *Skull of young man*, found with vertebra of ruminant in grave, and a fragment of pottery. Diseased hip. This cranium has some approximation to the modern form of English crania, and resembles herein crania No. v. of Sept. 1867, cranium xi. and iv. of March 17, and cranium No. i. of March 23, 1868.

2 young men.
1 aged.
1 middle-aged.

4 bodies.

February 21, 1868.

- xxii. *Old Romano-British man*, large skull with long bones. Copper stain on left ulna, immediately to N.E. of grave of xviii. so that the Roman tiles found in taking out the skeleton were supposed to belong to this skeleton. A good deal of charcoal and decayed wood was found near the head, but not near the legs nor pelvis. Of elongated type. Femur, 18.4; ulna, 10.3. The man, however, who took out the tiles supposed them to belong to Anglo-Saxon No. xviii. In the cases described by Wanner (*Das Alemannische Todtenfeld bei Schleithelm*, 1867, p. 13, 16; *Archiv für Anthropol.* ii. 3, p. 356), Roman tiling was similarly employed. In some cases the graves were, as here, so close as to have only a single tile as a wall between them. See xxii. of Jan. 6, 1869.
- xxiii. *Old woman* (? old man). Skull and long bones. Femur, 17; humerus, 12.2; radius, 8.9; ulna, 9.5; stature, 5.4. This is a very old skeleton, and I think the sex may be doubtful, but it is probably, from lower jaw's muscular markings, a male. The forehead is vertical, but perhaps abnormally; the vertex is carinate. Globose type.
- xxiv. *Skull of old woman*, with five coins; one of Valens, and one of Constans I. Flint, ball-shaped, chipped. Flat flint and Roman pottery. Femur, 15.6; tibia, 12.4; radius, 8.4. Lower jaw nearly destroyed by water-wear. Elongated type.
- xxv. *Man, prime of life*. Frontal suture patent.

1 child, 1st dent.
complete.
1 infant.
2 men, prime of life.
2 old men.
1 old woman.
1 old, doubtful of which
sex, prob. male.
1 young person, 18-20.
—
9 bodies, counting
xxvi. as two.

- xxvi. *Fragmentary cranium of old person*; bones of young person of eighteen to twenty wrongly assigned to it.
xxvii. *Long calvarium*, man prime of life. Lower jaw a good deal water-worn, and the long bones lost, perhaps destroyed by decay.
xxviii. *Infant*.
xxix. *Child*, first dentition complete.

March 4, 1868.

- i. *Skeleton of Romano-British woman*, adult, of globose type, like No. xi. of April 1, 1868. Skull larger and more strongly made than most female skulls, and a nearer approximation to male skulls of same type. Teeth considerably worn; no wisdom teeth developed. Orthognathous, with posterior sagittal furrow. Femur, 16·2; tibia, 13·4; humerus, 11·2; stature, 5 ft. 8·10 in.

March 17, 1868.

- i. *Skull*, with long bones and patellæ, of a *very strong young man*, buried with fragments of Roman pottery, black and red, and nail, with wood adhering to it, from coffin. Femur, 18·5; humerus, 13·3. Skull, flat and broad, to be reconstructed. Hyoid fully ossified. Elongated type.
ii. *Skull of old man*, with femur, and tibiæ, and nails near head. Of elongated, flat type. Large. Very large bones. Femur, 18·9.
iii. *Skull of young woman*, with long leg-bones and patellæ; short stature; teeth carious; and abscess in alveolar processes. Elongated type. Lower jaw all but destroyed by water-wear.
iv. *Skull of adult man*. No femora; no lower jaw; carious teeth. Skull high and long, but not delicate, though possessing transverse post-coronal depression. (Compare skull v. of Sept. 1867, and skull i. March 23, 1868.) No femora were found with it; the skeleton having been thrown down in a "fall" during the quarrying operations.
v. *Skull of young Anglo-Saxon woman*, very much contorted and distorted by post-mortem pressure, found in a grave 2 ft. 4 in. deep, with six beads, some near head, some over chest, perforated, of various sizes, of blue spongy glass, striated concentrically; fibula on either shoulder of flat shape, circumference gimped, and immediately within a circle of stamped round depressions, diameter, 1·3, of much the same pattern, but not quite, nor of quite same weight as another fibula of uncertain date and place from this cemetery; of quite different pattern from the two other sorts of fibulæ found here, though of same general shape, flat, as fibulæ of xiii. May, 1867. A skewer-shaped bronze pin, 4 in. on the left breast; a knife, 3 in. long, near the waist. For pin fastening shroud, see *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 71, pl. xxxv. fig. 5; *Archæologia*, xxxv. 477. The direction of the grave was not quite that of the Romano-British, viz. W.N.W. to E.S.E. but was very nearly this, running, as it did, from a little to the north of W.N.W. to a little to the south of E.S.E. There was some Roman pottery in the grave, animals' bones, an ox tooth, an oyster-shell, and a flint. The skull and the other bones are much water-worn. But we can see that the skull is small and short, that the nasals rose from a level with the glabella, which was little prominent, though underlaid, as also the similarly low superciliary ridges, by sinuses. The parietal tubera are fairly marked, the minimum frontal diameter apparently very small, 3·7 in. though it may have

1 adult woman.

been diminished by compression, the same minimum frontal being 3.9 in. in each of the two other Anglo-Saxon women from Frilford. The interior of the skull has the smooth polished appearance characteristic of youth. The wisdom-tooth in the right half of the lower jaw is very small, and not at all worn. The premolars are also little used comparatively to the two true molars, though more than the third molar. The chin seems to have been emarginated unusually below, but to have been fairly pronounced. The upper jaw, judging from a small portion of the right side, must have been slightly prognathous. None of the teeth are carious. There is copper staining on some of the ribs, the clavicle of the left, and the humerus of the right side.

- vi. *Patterned urn.* Probably a holy-water vessel, with characteristic bosses. Found a little to the south of the grave of Anglo-Saxon woman No. v. It was about 4 in. from the surface of the ground with its top edge, which had escaped the plough; its bottom was about 6½ in. Close to this urn or holy-water vessel was a mass of *infant skull bones*, the child having been about (before or after) the time of natural birth. It is possible that the diggers of the Anglo-Saxon woman's grave may have disturbed this urn in digging the grave, and having broken the urn may have reinterred it in fragments, and its contents apart from the fragments. A plain fragment, which does not appear to have belonged to the patterned fragment, was also found at some little distance from the patterned urn and the baby bones. And it is again possible that the child may have been deposited in the urn of which this latter fragment was a part. But I incline to think this was not the case, as the child's bones do not bear marks of fire; and though the Roman rule expressed in the words "*minor igne rogi*" (*Juv.* 15, 149; *Plin.* vii. 16) may not apply to an Anglo-Saxon interment, these bones may have belonged to a still-born child, for which no urn would probably have been used.
- vii. *Skull and some long bones, imperfect, of young woman*, wisdom teeth not through. A piece of grey spongy pottery; no other relics. Romano-British direction, W.N.W. to E.S.E.
- viii. *Skull and long bones of child* of 8 years, with two pieces of Roman pottery.
- viii. *Skull and some long bones of old man.* Skull both globose and elongated. Humerus roughened at point of origin and insertion of muscles.
- ix. *Skull and long bones of old woman* (? very old man), with Roman pottery. Skull of type of x. May, 1867. Femur, 16.3; tibia, 13.2; humerus, 11.4; stature, 5 ft. 1 in. It is doubtful, I think, whether this skull may not be a very old man's. The lower jaw shows great marks of old age. The straight clavicles point the other way. Of "Sion" type.
- x. *Skull with long bones, of young woman*, possibly Christian Anglo-Saxon. This skull was sent by the men, but without relics. The type seems to be that of Anglo-Saxon woman xiii. May, 1867, and of woman, 771 m. Oxford University Museum (see p. 447, *supra*), from Helmingham. The wisdom teeth are, though little worn, very small in upper jaw. The jaw prognathic. Some little doubt as to sex from slope of forehead and parietes and large mastoids, but, nearly certainly, female. Femur, 15 in.; stature, 4 ft. 8 in. (1.51) by 4=56; tibia, 11.5; fibula, 11.2; ulna, 8.3; radius, 7.5; humerus, 10.4. The cervical vertebræ, from 7th onwards, having been impacted into the interior periphery of the lower jaw, it is probable the head was raised when the body was buried, and hence that this may have been an Anglo-Saxon interment. With this skull compare skull 5712 D, Royal

1 infant.
1 child of 8
4 young women.
3 old men.
1 adult man.
2 young men.
—
12 skulls.

College of Surgeons, which belonged to an Anglo-Saxon woman from Brighthampton, and No. xiii. of Sept. 26, 1868, *infra*.

- xi. *Strong young man*, with long bones. Protuberance on right parietal. Buried with nail. Wisdom teeth either not coming or retarded. Second molars little worn. Compare skull ix. *supra* and vii. Sept. 1867. Taken out of grave by the workmen, as also No. x.

March 23, 1868.

- i. *Young woman*, æt. 17-18, no relics. Buried in grave running W.N.W. to E.S.E. Good skull of modern well-developed European type. Ceph. Index, 78. Height, 5 ft. 4 ins. Humerus, 11·9 ins. Femur, 17 ins. Skull 7 ins. long, 5·4 ins. broad, circumference 19·6 ins. Compare skulls vii. of Sept. 1867, and xi. and iv. of March 17, 1868, for somewhat similar conformation. Can these skulls have belonged to Christian Anglo-Saxons? See p. 448, *supra*.
- ii. *Old woman*, skull and long bones. Romano-British direction. No relics. Sutures much obliterated. Exostoses in antrum maxillare. Extreme length of skull, 7 ins. The roots had reached into its interior. Vertical forehead. Elongated type. Femur, 15·5 ins.
- ii'. *Child*, with first permanent molar not through, at a short distance from ii.; a fragment of pottery, Romano-British, with it.
- iii. *Skull of strong adult man*, with no long bones. Of broad platycephalic type. Teeth small, considerably worn, one carious. A nail found with bones. The skull was full of the small mollusc, *Achatina acicula*.
- iv. *Skull with long bones, very perfect, of very strong adult man*, found with Roman tile and Romano-British pottery. Femur, 18·8 ins. Humerus, 13·8 ins. Radius, 9·9 ins. Ulna, 11 ins. 5 ft. 11 ins. stature. Of globose type.

1 young woman.
1 old woman.
1 child.
2 adult men.
—
5 skulls.

April 1, 1868.

- i. *Young Anglo-Saxon man*, lying with head at N.N.E. and foot at S.S.W. the very reverse of the compass-points held by the head and foot respectively of Anglo-Saxon xviii. of Feb. 8, 1868, and of Anglo-Saxon women of May, 1867. The body was thrown down in the "fall" of the quarry, and was described as "not being in a grave, but lying above and at right angles to the other graves." There was a buckle 1½ in. long on the pelvis, (cf. *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 58, *Tombeau de Childeric*, p. 234,) and adhering to it some coarse flax fabric, as proved by the microscope. This skeleton has the left radius and ulna bronze-stained, and in the neighbourhood into which the bones were thrown a spear-head with a central raised ridge, like the assagaye of the Hottentots, *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 10, an umbo and a knife were found. These latter the workmen thought belonged to a child, i^a. which occupied a grave in the ordinary Romano-British bearing, but it is much more probable that they belonged to this skeleton, which had an Anglo-Saxon buckle upon its pelvis, and from which, in the wrench and jerk of the fall, the umbo and knife may very readily have been dislocated. The diameter of the umbo was 6·2 ins., height 2·8 ins., lesser circumference 14·4 ins. There were four broad-headed rivets on the broad periphery, with three eyelet-holes between each pair. Its type was therefore the ordinary one found here. This umbo was exchanged for one in the possession of the Aldworth family. The skull appears after

reconstruction to have been of the platycephalic ovoidal Anglo-Saxon type. Cf. *Crania Britannica*, Plate XLVI. and plate added in description of Plate IX.

- i.^a *Child*, probably boy of about 12.
- ii. *Skull of old woman*, with Anglo-Saxon ornaments, such as are described p. 70 of *Pagan Saxondom*, and figured Plate XXXV. fig. 4; and *Fairford Graves*, Plate IX. fig. 10; *Cran. Brit.* Plate XX. p. 5; and Brighthampton, *Archæolog.* xxxvii. No. i. 38; No. xvi. in Ashmolean Museum; and with fibulæ such as are figured at fig. i. in Plate XVIII. *Pagan Saxondom*, as found near Rugby. The body lay in a grave running from W.S.W. to E.N.E. not an unusual bearing for an Anglo-Saxon here. The grave was 27 ins. deep. Stains of green on left clavicle and right rib i., the pins on the ring having been on the left shoulder, and the fibulæ one on each shoulder. The fibulæ are similar, also, to the two figured by Mr. Akerman in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix. Plate XI. figs. 8 and 9, as found at Long Wittenham.
- iii. *Skull and femur and patella of old man*, dug out of a grave with Romano-British bearings, and from under an urn, iii^a. containing burnt bones of an adult. A nail was found in the grave with this old man. Skull eminently globose. Femur, 18·8 ins. Stature, 5 ft. 11 ins. Lower jaw nearly destroyed by water-wear.
- iii^a. *Urn* not reconstructed, plain, containing *adult bones*. It had a flat stone on the top of it.
- iii^b. *Plain urn*, with two bosses each on opposite sides, not pushed out from the inside, but stuck on to the outside, containing burnt bones of *an adult*.
- iv. *Man past middle-life*. Skull of globose type with some of long bones. In a very much deeper grave than usual, 40 in. deep, in usual Romano-British direction, from W.N.W. to E.S.E. Many nails in grave with the bones, with wood, probably oak, adherent. A fragment of old Roman pottery, the bottom of an urn, in grave. Femur, 18·18; tibia, 14·8. Stature, 5·11.
- v. *Skull of child*, with two amber beads, 6½ years old. Came from last grave but one on right side, as did also the skeleton No. ix. which had a coin with it, and also osteophytes internally in skull.
- vi. *Skull with a few broken long bones of old woman*, very like a modern Swiss skull, 768 B, in Oxford Museum, with a cephalic index of 82. The oblique dip away of the posterior half of the parietal makes its distinctive character from the Anglo-Saxon xiii. of May 1867, and the skull xiv. of Jan. 16, 1868. It is shorter and broader than the River-bed type, but its longitudinal arc has the same contour. Again, No. vi. of 1867, with cephalic index 79, resembles it very much, and by vi. of May 1867, we pass to vi. of Sept. 17, 1867, with cephalic index 78, and to the female skull or calvarium xi. April 1, 1868, xiii. Jan. 15, 1868.
- vii. *A child's skull* removed by the men. First dentition only.
- viii. *Young woman 25 to 30, skull and long bones*, found near child with two amber beads. Skull of Romano-British, elongated, coronally-constricted type. See *Crania Britannica*, Plate LVIII. Wisdom-teeth not through the gum, though the crista is ankylosed to the ilium.
- ix. *Skull of woman 25 to 30*, found with a coin which is lost, and in last grave but one on right side, whence came the child with the two amber beads. Osteophytes on inner surface of skull. Femur, 16·5 in.; tibia, 13·6 in. Stature 5 ft. 2 in.
- x. *Fragments of skull of old person, probably female*, no history; found in "fall" with fragments of Roman pottery; skull of platycephalic type with the posterior sagittal "rainure," supposed to characterize Celts and Scandinavians. See *Bull. Soc. Anthropol. de Paris*, 1863, p. 319; 1864, p. 283. Internally, in correspondence with this, is a very deep furrow for the longitudinal sinus; showing of course that the bottom of the two furrows outside and inside the skull corresponds to a line of arrested growth, and that the skull has grown out on either side

2 old men.
2 adults ♀ ♂
1 young man.
1 boy 12.
3 children.
4 old women.
2 young women.
—
15 bodies.

in lines of the parietal tubera, to fit itself to the growing brain. In other skulls, as for example, skull No. ii. of March 23, 1868, this parietal vallecule on the exterior corresponds with raised ridge along the line of the longitudinal sinus. See *Cambridge Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, iii. 253, 1868.

- xi. *Skull and long bones of old woman?* from extreme right of quarry; of globose Romano-British type, resembling skull No. vi. of Sept. 1867, and vi. of April 1, 1868, and vi. of April, 1867. Femur, 14·5 in. Stature, 4 ft. 6 in.
- xii. *Child with first set of teeth*—removed by me, Romano-British direction of grave.

September 24, 1868.

- | | |
|--|---|
| i. Key of Roman type . . . | { The excavations on this day were carried on upon two patches of ground which Mr. Aldworth had observed to have stronger and greener corn growing upon them than was to be seen elsewhere. Great quantities of the bones of the domestic animals, exclusive of the horse but including the dog, were found, together with the articles specified and numbered. No human remains were observed however. These spots appear to have been the rubbish-pits of some house of a person of considerable wealth, an "eques." See Pearson, <i>History of England</i> , i. 45; and Coote, <i>Neglected Fact in English History</i> , pp. 40—45, <i>cit. in loco</i> . |
| ii. Stag's-horn hair pin . . . | |
| iii. Bronze ring . . . | |
| iv. Two knives . . . | |
| v. Spoon . . . | |
| vi. Coin-shaped Kimmeridge shale . . . | |
- vii. Coin. One of the many coins imitated from Roman originals in 5th and 6th centuries. Very common in England.
- viii. Pottery of very many patterns and degrees of fineness, from very fair and fine Samian down to very coarse ware. Some of both bestudded interiorly with particles of silex; some with pattern very like that of the Anglo-Saxon urn. See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 438; A. Corbet's *Uriconium*, p. 63.

September 25, 1868.

- ix.¹ *Anglo-Saxon girl*, with two plain bronze fibulæ, in a grave from 18 in. to 24 in. deep, lying over Romano-British woman (v. of Sept. 26, *infra* p. 477). The skeleton's upper half ran from W.N.W. to E.S.E.; but the lower half of the body was twisted at an obtuse angle to the upper half, and lay from N.N.E. to S.S.E. This distortion probably accounts for the displacement of one of the fibulæ from the right shoulders on to the manubrium sterni. Towards the lower end of this grave a beautiful coin was found, Byzantine, 4th century. Decentius. Many bones brought of a child of 9 æt. For the view that men had only one fibula and women two, see L'Abbé Cochet, *Tombeau de Childeric*, ed. 2^{de}. 1859, p. 228. Can this distorted position correspond to the "contraction from the hips" described by Canon Greenwell, at Kirby-under-Dale, *Times*, 1841?
- x.² *Skeleton of a child*, 12 to 14 months, from a grave running from W.N.W. head to E.S.E. foot. The depth of skeleton was 23 in.
- xi.³ *Skeleton of child*, 6 to 7, found lying immediately above xii.⁴ in a grave with bearings W. for head, E. for feet. There was a large stone at its head, and in the grave were three pieces of Roman pottery, one beautifully patterned, and a horse's tooth. First true molar just coming into place. Could this child have been a Christian Anglo-Saxon?
- xii.⁴ *Skeleton of adult male*, probably 25 to 30 æt. lying underneath preceding skeleton, head at W.N.W. feet at E.S.E. Femur, 19·2 ins. Humerus, 13·7 ins. Globose Romano-British type. Stature, 5 ft. 10 in.

September 26, 1868.

- xiii¹. *Skeleton of adult woman.* Femur, 16 in. Stature, 5 ft. In a grave running from W.N.W. by N.W. to E.S.E. by S.E. its depth being 35 in. to stone which was under the back of her head. The vertex of the head was horizontal, the frontal norma looking E.S.E. and the vertebræ of the neck being underneath the base of the skull. The head of the humerus was 2 in. from the skull. No relics nor traces of nails in this grave. Possibly a coffinless one. Elongated type. A number of shards were with this skeleton, but I think it may have been an Anglo-Saxon woman, such as No. x. of March 17, 1868.
- xiv². *Skeleton of young man.* Femur, 17·6. Stature, 5 ft. 4·4 in. The skull lay on its right side, in a grave running from W.N.W. to E.S.E. of 36 in. deep, without pottery or nails. Elongated British type.
- xv³. *Skeleton of old man.* Femur, 17·9. Stature, 5 ft. 7·6 in. From a grave running from W.N.W. to E.S.E. 32 in. to top of skull, which was lying on its right side, not raised. The lower jaw a little on one side, not, however, so much as the head. A stone 9 in. long, 5 in. across, and 3½ in. thick, was so close to the forehead as to render it difficult to think a coffin could have been present. Elongated British type. Very fine skull, nearly of same size as the largest skull of the Dinnington series. See *Cambridge Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, vol. iii. p. 253, 1868.
- xvi⁴. *Skeleton of old man.* Femur, 16·3 in. Stature, 5 ft. 1½ ins. From grave of same direction and depth as others; no nails, but some fragments of pottery and "marks of burnings." Elongated British type.
- xvii⁵. *Skeleton of young woman, enlarged River-bed type.* Femur, 16·2 ins. Stature, 5 ft. 7⅞ in. From a grave running N.N.W. by N.W. at 36 in. deep, one foot deeper than the Anglo-Saxon girl's grave No. ix¹, of Sept. 25, under which it ran. There was a large stone close to the forehead. The head was on its left side, looking slightly upwards. A large fragment of the rim of an urn was found between the left os innominatum and sacrum of this skeleton. A small nail was also found in this grave.

September 28, 1868.

- xviii. *Skeleton, reported by men by whom it was taken out as having been discovered in levelling the ground and smoothing the inequalities caused by the excavations of Friday and Saturday, Sept. 25 and 26, and as having been in a grave of same direction as, but of much less depth (viz. only 18·19 in.) than, the other graves.* It was "lying with its face downwards, as also its leg bones; and was found with two pieces of iron, and also a knife. One of the pieces of iron reached from its right elbow to its shoulder; the other was between the hip bone and the bottom of the grave. The knife was underneath the frame, about the middle of the body. The piece by the arm was a long piece all joined in one." Probably buried when bearers drunk. A coin was sent with this skeleton. Not verified? Postumus? Young (? middle aged) Anglo-Saxon man of broader head type, many carious teeth, bones much water-worn. Femur, 17·8; 5 ft. 7·2 in. stature. Had received and repaired during life a severe injury on left frontal and both parietals.
- xix. *Skull with one long bone, the humerus considerably worn, the rest decayed or water-worn, as also the lower jaw.* No relics nor iron. In a grave of same direction as preceding, and as Romano-British, but deeper. Of elongated Romano-British type. Old man.
- xx. *Child.* The long bones not brought, having been beneath the growing crop of turnips. First dentition in place.
- xxi. *Bones of infant about time of birth, taken out of a grave about 18 in. deep, and of ordinary direction, W.N.W. to E.S.E.*

TABULAR VIEW OF RESULTS OF OSTEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS.

I. Table of Skulls and Skeletons illustrating the several Types and Nationalities.

The Celtic or Romano-British cranium of the "Cimbric" type of Retzius is illustrated by

Male crania,
with average stature of 12 skeletons, 5ft. 8·3in.

vii. May, 1867.
xvi. ———
iii. Sept. 1867.
vii. ———
ix. Jan. 15, 1868.
xi. ———
xii. ———
xx. Jan. 20, 1868.
xxi. Feb. 8, 1868.
xxii. ———
xxv. Feb. 21, 1868.
xxvii. ———
i. March 17, 1868.
ii. ——— ? A.S.
iv. ——— ? A.S.
v. Sept. 1867 ? A.S.
iii. March 23, 1868.
xx. Sept. 26, 1868.
xi. Mar. 17, 1868 ? A.S.
xix. Sept. 28, 1868.

Female crania
with average stature of 9 skeletons, 4ft. 11·5in.

Cranium B. Oct. 1864.
xi. May, 1867.
xii. ———
xv. ———
xix. ———
xxvii. Dec. 31, 1867.
xvii. Jan. 20, 1868.
xxiv. Feb. 21, 1868.
iii. Mar. 17, 1868.
i. Mar. 23, 1868,
? A.S.
ii. ———
viii. Apr. 1, 1868.
xiii. Sept. 26, 1868.

The globose Romano-British type, the "Sion typus" of His and Rüttimeyer, is illustrated by

Male crania,
with average stature of 11 skeletons, 5ft. 8·5in.

i. April, 1867.
x. May, 1867.
ii. Leaden coffin, 1867.
xxiii. May, 1867.
xxiii. Feb. 21, 1868.
iv. March 23, 1868.
xii. Sept. 25, 1868.
viii. March 17, 1868.
ix. March 14, 1868.
vi. Sept. 1867.
iii. April 1, 1868.

1 *Female cranium*, of size corresponding to male variety of globose type.

March 4, 1868.

8 *Female crania*, of smaller size, and of a type which may be called the *enlarged river-bed type*, with 7 skeletons averaging 4 ft. 9·5 inches, are represented by—

vi. April, 1867.
ii. April, 1867.
xi. April 1, 1868.
vi. April 1, 1868.
i. Sept. 1867.
xvii. Sept. 1868.
xiii. Jan. 15, 1868.
xi. May 1867.

One *male cranium* which belonged to a man of 6 feet may be looked upon as furnishing a *form transitional from an enlarged river-bed type to the globose Romano-British form*.

xix. Feb. 8, 1868.

2 *Female crania*, of a small size and a type which may be spoken of as the *cylindrocephalic river-bed type*, with a mean stature of 5 feet, are represented by—

ii. Sept. 1867.
iv. Jan. 1868.

Table I.—*continued.*

Of skulls, which, though not found in with, are, from other causes, conjectured to have belonged to *Anglo-Saxons*.

there are { 3 *Male crania* { v. Sept. 1867.
iv. March 17, 1868.
xi. _____
3 *Female crania* { x. March 17, 1868.
xiv. Jan. 15, 1868.
i. March 23, 1868.

Of Roman, or Romano-British, skulls of the "Hohberg" type and stature 5ft. 10·5in.

there are 3 *Male crania* { i. Leaden coffin, 1867.
xiv. May, 1867.
xxii. _____

Anglo-Saxons with relics . . .	{	<i>Female crania</i>	{	A. Nov. 1864. xiii. May, 1867. v. March 17, 1867. ii. April 1, 1867. ix. Sept. 25, 1868.
		<i>Male crania</i>	{	xviii. Feb. 8, 1868. i. April 1, 1868. xviii. Sept. 28, 1868.
		<i>Males—Bones imperfect</i> . .	{	v. May, 1867. iv. Sept. 1867.
		<i>Child</i>	{	v. April 1, 1868.

II. *Numerical Table.*

<i>Men from Leaden coffins</i> , in 1864 and 1867	{	Old men 2	{	. . . 4				
		Middle-aged 2						
<i>Men of Hohberg type</i> , besides one from leaden coffin, i. 1867	{	Old 1	{	. . . 2				
		Young 1						
<i>Anglo-Saxons with relics</i> or in urns	{	Young or middle-aged men with relics	4	{	. . . 21			
		Old man	1					
		Young women	2					
		Middle-aged	1					
		Old	1					
		Children	2					
		Adults in urns (one about puberty	3					
		Urn unopened	1					
		Children in urns	5					
<i>Skeletons supposed to have</i> belonged to <i>Anglo-Saxons</i> though found without re- lics	{	Men	{	Old 1	{	3	{	. . . 6
				Middle-aged 1				
				Young 1				
	{	Women	{	Old 1	{	3		
				Young 2				
<i>Romano-Britons of elon-</i> <i>gated oval capacious type,</i> called "Cimbric," by Retz- ius, <i>Ethnologische Schrif-</i> <i>ten</i> , p. 108	{	Men	{	Old 11	{	21	{	. . . 32
				Middle-aged 3				
				Young 7				
	{	Women	{	Old 4	{	11		
				Middle-aged 1				
				Young 6				

<i>Romano-Britons of globose or "Sion" type, the male crania of great size occasionally, and the female in only one instance approaching the larger male crania in dimensions</i>	Men	{	Old	7	{	10	}	. . . 21		
			Middle-aged	2						
			Young	1						
			Women	{					Old	6	{	11	}
Middle-aged	1									
Young	4									
<i>Male skeleton of enlarged River-bed type (Old)</i> 1										
<i>Skeletons the type of which has not been determined, the bones having been too much injured by water-wear or otherwise</i>	Men	{	Old	1	{	2	}	. . . 14		
			Young	1						
	Women	{	Old	1	{	6	}			
			Young	5						
	Sex undetermined	{	Old	2	{	6	}			
			Young	4						
<i>Children found without relics and in graves</i>	Infants			4	{			. . . 23		
	Within period of first dentition			14						
	From period of commencement of second dentition to that of puberty			5						
Total 123										

Of which 123 there are	{	30 children	}	Of which 123—
		25 old men		
		13 old women		
		19 young women		
		15 young men		
		8 middle-aged men		48 are men.
		3 middle-aged women		
		2 old persons of undetermined sex		35 are women.
		4 young persons of undetermined sex		
		3 adults from urns		
		1 urn unopened		

I. Coins.

FIXED POINTS FOR ARGUING AS TO DATE AND NATIONALITY OF THE SKELETONS FOUND AT FRILFORD.

In leaden coffin No. i. Jan. 1867, five coins, of which one was a coin of Constantine the younger, one a coin of Valens, one a coin of Gratian.

In the leaden coffin opened by J. Y. Akerman, Esq. F.S.A. Oct. 1864, and also in one of the graves opened by him at the same time, a coin of Constantine I. was found.

In the point where *graves* xvii. and xviii. of Jan. 20 and Feb. 8, 1868, intersected, a coin of Constans was found. Possibly accidentally fallen in.

With *skeleton* xxiv. of Feb. 21, 1868, an old woman, of the elongated oval Romano-British or Celtic type, five coins were found, of which one belonged to Valens, and another to Constans I.

With *skull* ix. of April 1, 1868, a coin was found, which is lost.

With *skeleton* iv. Jan. 9, 1868, of a very old woman, of small cylindrocephalic type, three coins were found, which could not be identified.

In the grave, but towards the lower end of it, whither it may have found its way accidentally, in which the Anglo-Saxon girl No. ix. of Sept. 25, 1868, a Byzantine, 4th century, Decentius.

In the *Roman rubbish-heap*, examined Sept. 24, 1868, a coin was found, one of the many imitated from Roman originals in 5th and 6th centuries. Very common in England.

With the *skeleton* No. xviii. of Sept. 28, 1868, a coin was sent, Postumus (?)

II. Relics.

Lower jaws iv. of April and May, 1867. Reported to have been found with an umbo No. v.

Skeleton No. xiii. of May, 1867. Anglo-Saxon woman. Was found with fibulæ and beads.

Skeleton No. v. of March 17, 1868. Anglo-Saxon woman. Was found with fibulæ, beads, and pin.

Skeleton No. ii. of April 1, 1868. Anglo-Saxon woman. Was found with fibulæ of Midland counties type, with scoops and pickers on ring, and with a knife. But see "Further Researches, Long Wittenham," *Archæologia*, xxxix, Pl. XI. p. 142.

Skeleton No. iv. of Sept. 1867. Anglo-Saxon man. Was found with an umbo and a spear head.

Skeleton No. xviii. of Feb. 8, 1868. Anglo-Saxon man. Was found with an umbo, a spear head, a knife, and some Roman tiles set round his grave.

Skeleton No. i. of April 1, 1868. Was found with an umbo, a spear head with a central raised ridge, a buckle, and a knife.

Skeleton No. v. of a *child*, April 1, 1868. Was found with two beads, not spherical, and therefore probably Anglo-Saxon.

Skeleton No. ix. of Sept. 25, 1868. Anglo-Saxon girl. Was found with two fibulæ. A coin was also found towards the lower end of her grave, but may have fallen or worked its way into the grave without any intention on the part of the burying persons. The coin was a fourth century Byzantine coin of Decentius.

Skeleton No. xviii. of Sept. 28, 1868. Anglo-Saxon man. Was found with the face downwards, and with two pieces of iron, probably remnants of a crushed umbo, a knife, and a coin, which was considered as probably of Postumus.

I. Urns.

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| i. Anglo-Saxon . . . | { Plain urn, iv. of Jan. 25, 1867, containing bones of a child, 2 to 3 years old. |
| | { Patterned urn, xvii. of May, 1867, containing bones of child before second set of teeth. |
| 1. Cremation . . . | { Plain urn, xviii. of May, 1867, containing bones of person before age of puberty. |
| | { Patterned urn, ix. of Sept. 1867, containing bones of child under 8 years of age. |

Arms and ornaments.

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|--|
| | { | <i>Plain urn</i> , iii ^a . of Jan. 9, 1868, containing bones of child from 5 to 6 years of age. |
| | | <i>Plain urn</i> , vi. of Jan. 15, 1868, containing bones of child from 9 to 10 years of age. |
| 1. Cremation (<i>continued</i>) | | <i>Plain urn</i> , xvi. of Jan. 20, 1868, unopened. |
| | | <i>Plain urn</i> , iii ^a . of April 1, 1868, containing bones of adult. |
| | | <i>Plain urn</i> , with two bosses, iii ^b . of April 1, 1868, containing bones of adult. |
| | { | Fragments, with bones, were found Sept. 1867, and Dec. 31, 1867. |
| | | Patterned vessel in British Museum, of date 1864. |
| 2. Holy Water Vessels(?) | | Patterned fragment, figured Plate i. found Sept. 1867. |
| | { | Patterned fragment, figured Plate ii. found March 17, 1868, No. vi. |
| ii. Roman | | A Roman vessel was found perfect at bottom of one of the walls. |
| | { | vi. of Sept. 1867, under urn No. ix. |
| iv. Skeletons found under | | iv. of Jan 9, 1868, under urn No. iii ^a . of Jan. 8, 1868. |
| urns | | iii. of April 1, 1868, under urn No. iii ^a . of April 1, 1868, not reconstructed. |
| | { | xvii. of Jan. 20, 1868, was under Anglo-Saxon man, xviii. of Feb. 8. |
| v. Skeletons found under | | xvii. of Sept. 26, 1868, was under Anglo-Saxon girl, ix. of Sept. 25, |
| otherskeletons, which | | 1868. |
| are identifiable by | | |
| their relics | | |
- See also No. 3 (xxxvii.), of Jan. 20, 1869, found under Anglo-Saxon woman, xxxviii. with fibulæ, No. 2 (xxiii.) of Jan. 6, 1869, found under Anglo-Saxon woman, xxii. with fibulæ, both of which are in the Oxford University Museum, as also No. xii. 4 of September 25, 1868, p. 476, *supra*.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

Plate XXIII.

Fig. 1. Urn found 15 inches above a Romano-British skeleton. It contained the burnt bones of a child under 8 years of age, and also some fragments of glass, but no other relics. A simple cruciform stamp, a stick with a blunt point, and a thumb, must have been employed for the ornamentation of this urn; the impressions which they have made are visible on the internal surface. Though the pattern of this urn resembles that of the urn figured Plate XXIV. fig. 3, in some general characters, it differs from it in many points of detail, and also in the larger matter of being prolonged below the most projecting zone of the urn's surface instead of being limited below by that line. The width of this urn at the top,

where its top turns out a little, as may be seen from the small part which has escaped the injuries of the plough, is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; its greatest width at the line just spoken of is $7\frac{1}{2}$. See *Catalogue*, Sept. 1867, No. ix.

- Fig. 2. Fragment of vessel, probably a holy-water vessel, with the "characteristic Anglo-Saxon bumps" upon it. See *Horæ Ferales*, p. 230. At the base of each "bump," and between it and the encircling zones, a small boat-shaped depression exists.
- Fig. 3. Patterned vessel, probably, like the preceding, a holy-water vessel. It was broken when found, and was only about 4 inches from the surface of the ground. Close to it were a mass of the skull bones of an infant about the time of birth, which, however, do not bear marks of fire. The vessel may have been disturbed to make room for the infant, or it may have been broken by the plough. See *Catalogue*, March 17, 1868, No. vi.
- Fig. 4. Urn which contained the bones of a child of about 9-10 years of age. It is of strong construction, and shows "einen in der Ausbauchung des Gefässes scharf vorspringenden Rand," which Schaafhausen has (*Die Germanische Grabstätten am Rhein*, 1868, p. 133) spoken of as the commonest form of old Germanic as opposed to Roman pottery. See *Catalogue*, Jan. 15, 1868, No. vi.
- Fig. 5. Urn of delicate fragile structure; when found, containing the bones of a child of from 5-6 years of age, and placed about 18 inches above the skeleton of a Romano-British woman buried with three coins. The place it occupied was about a yard to the right of that occupied by the urn (ix.; Sept. 1867) figured above at fig. 1. See *Catalogue*, Jan. 9, 1868, No. iii^a.
- Fig. 6. Spear-head, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, found with the skeleton of a young Anglo-Saxon man (iv.; Sept. 1867), on the right side of his head. An umbo was also found with the same body, which occupied a grave of the Romano-British direction and depth, with stones set along its sides. Remains of a previous interment were found in this grave. See pp. 420 and 434, *supra*.
- Fig. 7. Spear-head found with skeleton of a young Anglo-Saxon man interred in a shallow grave above and at right angles to the other graves, with an umbo and a knife, and the buckle figured below. This spear-head contrasts with the one figured above not only by its greater size, $10\frac{7}{10}$ inches, but also in possessing the central raised ridge which has been noticed in the Assagaye of the Hottentots (see *Pagan Saxondom*, p. x. introd.) and in the weapons of other races. See *Catalogue*, April 1, 1868, No. i.
- Fig. 8. Buckle found upon the pelvis of the skeleton (i.; April 1, 1868) with which the spear-head figured above was found. This is the only buckle which has been found at Frilford during the period of my investigations; Mr. Akerman was more fortunate in this respect. For the distinctively Teutonic character of the buckle see L'Abbé Cochet, *Tombeau de Childéric*, p. 233, 1859. See also Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 58. The length of this buckle is only $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch.

Plate XXIV.

- Fig. 1. Fragment of urn of coarse texture found lying over the left hip of an Anglo-Saxon woman, who was buried in a shallow grave, with fibulæ and beads (see *Catalogue*, May 16, 1867, No. xiii.), and whose skull is figured below at fig. 5. The height of this urn is 11 inches, and its girth, as calculated, would have been about 31. There were no calcined bones found in relation with it, but it is of the same texture as the urn figured next, fig. 2, and of the same shape as an urn found at Long Wittenham, see *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. Plate xx. fig. 4, both of which did contain such bones. Probably it had been replaced in the position in which it was found after having been displaced in the digging of the grave. See page 436, *ibique citata*.
- Fig. 2. Coarse-textured urn found containing calcined bones of human subject at the age of puberty. Its height is 6 inches; its circumference $24\frac{3}{4}$. It has no pattern either within or without, but is blackened by the action of fire on both sides. See *Catalogue*, May, 1867, No. xviii.
- Fig. 3. Urn found containing the bones of a child, in whom the first set of teeth had in all probability come into use, and showing a pattern similar to those ordinarily recognised as characteristic of Anglo-Saxon and other Teutonic funeral ware, whether cremation urns or holy-water vessels. For references to memoirs bearing upon this subject see p. 431, note ^a. *Catalogue*, April and May, 1867, No. xvii. The actual size of this urn and of the three which follow on this plate is $2\frac{2}{3}$ ds of that given here. Two multiradiate stamps and a simply pointed stick must have been employed for making the stamped patterns, besides, probably, a second stick for making the encircling scorings and the vandykes on this urn.
- Fig. 4. Small urn of finer texture than the preceding, but like it in the absence of pattern. Its height is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and its girth 16 inches. It contained the bones of a child which are considerably comminuted, but which enable us to say that the child had attained its first set of teeth, and that it would not, consequently, have been considered even by the Romans as "minor igne rogi." See *Juvenal*, Sat. xv. 149; *Plin.* vii. 16. An urn of similar shape, but said to have been of very coarse earthenware, is figured by Mr. Wylie at fig. 2, Plate VII. of his *Fairford Graves*, as having contained the remains of a child. Another urn of the same type, and not very different in size, is figured p. 32 of the *Saxon Obsequies* by the Hon. R. C. Neville as having been found at Little Wilbraham, in Cambridgeshire. See *Catalogue*, Jan. 1867, No. iv.
- Fig. 5. Skull of Anglo-Saxon woman (May, 1867, No. xiii.) found buried with fibulæ, perforated glass beads, the large fragment of a cremation urn, figured above (fig. 1), and some smaller fragments of Roman and of Saxon pottery. After making all allowances for the peculiarities characteristic of the female sex which this skull shows, such as the parieti-frontal and the parieti-occipital angulations, combined with general smoothness and absence of ridges, we are still able to say of it that it possesses tribal peculiarities which enable us to distinguish it, as also the other skulls found interred with the Anglo-Saxon insignia, from the skulls of the Romano-Britons. For the peculiarities of the female skull, see Ecker, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, i. 1, 81, 1866; Welcker, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 65 and 141, 1862.

- Fig. 6. Rectangular piece of iron hooping which had, in all probability, served as the fastening of a coffin. A large nail has been driven through the upper end of the vertical bar. See Dr. Thurnam, quoted in the *Osteological Catalogue of the Museum of the London College of Surgeons*, vol. ii. p. 881, 5712. *Catalogue*, Dec. 31, 1867, No. xxvii.
- Fig. 7. Lid of Roman coffin (see note p. 421, *supra*), which was simply placed upon the top of a rectangular oblong leaden coffin, the whole being inclosed in an outer casing of wood.
- Fig. 8. Half of Roman coffin, crushed out of original shape, which was that of an oblong box of equal width at both ends and without any soldering. See p. 421, *et seqq. supra*. About $1\frac{1}{3}$ of actual size.

Plate XXV.

- Fig. 1. Urn preserved in the Library of Queen's College, Oxford, and probably from Faversham in Kent. For evidence, see p. 432, note ^a. This urn has been figured here not only for the sake of comparison with the other urns, but mainly because but few Anglo-Saxon cremation urns have been found in Kent at all. The contour and the pattern are both alike, and equally distinctive of Teutonic funeral vases. For the pattern three different multiradiate stamps must have been employed as well as a simply pointed stick. As in the urn figured at 1, in Plate xix. the pattern reaches some way below the well-defined line which corresponds with the greatest diameter of the urn. For the rarity of Anglo-Saxon urns in Kent see *British Assoc. Report*, 1855, p. 146. *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, xv. xlv. 184, 185. Wylie, *Archæologia*, 37.
- Fig. 2. Plain urn of coarsish paste from Frilford (iii.^b; April 1, 1868) found containing the bones of an adult. The boss on its exterior has no depression corresponding to it on the internal surface of the urn. See *Horæ Ferales*, Plate xxx. p. 222, and p. 475, *supra*.
- Figures 3, 4, and 5, represent fragments of Roman lathe-turned pottery found in what had served as the rubbish pit of a Roman residence at Frilford. The patterns upon these fragments may have served as models for the Anglo-Saxons in making their ware by hand.
- Figures 6 and 7. A pair of odd fibulæ found with the skeleton of an Anglo-Saxon woman, which was buried about a foot above another skeleton, which had in all probability, therefore, belonged to a Romano-Briton. The cruciform fibula, which has been supposed to be the common Midland County form, was found on the right, and the plain disc-shaped fibula on the left shoulder; stones had been set round the body, and a lump of Niedermennig lava was found at the feet of the skeleton. See p. 440, *supra*, and Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 35, Plate xviii.; and *Collectanea Antiqua*, vi. Plate xxviii. p. 150, 1868, for figure of female skeleton similarly buried with odd fibulæ on the two shoulders.

A P P E N D I X.

On Antiquities from Præneste.

June 6th, 1867. W. M. Wylie, Esq. F.S.A. Local Secretary for Hampshire, communicated the following note on some objects found in a bronze cist at Præneste, figured (to a scale of $\frac{3}{4}$ linear) in Plate XXVI. :—

“Figures of a bird and a human foot, in wood, from Palestrina, the ancient Præneste, in the country of the Sabine Æqui.

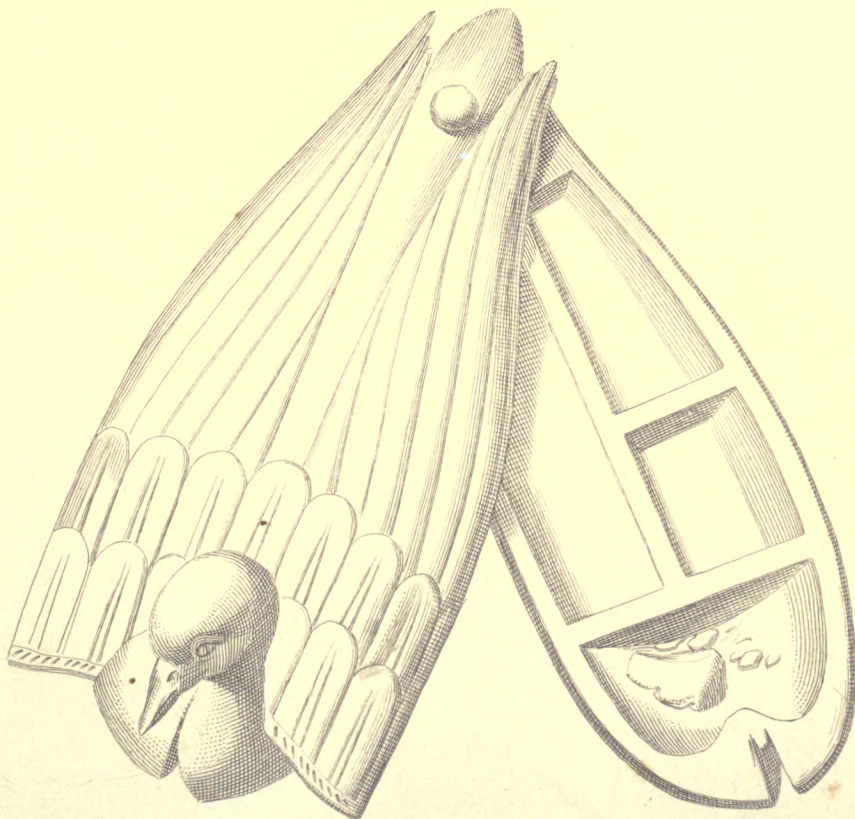
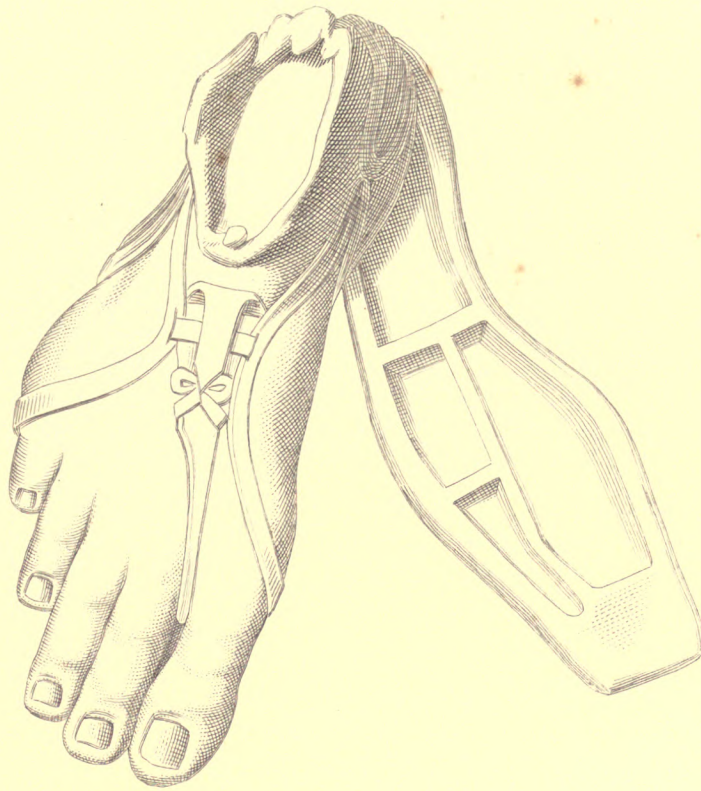
“They consist of two parts. The upper plays on a pivot, and, on being pushed aside, discloses a hollow in the lower, divided into small compartments. These contain the paints, small sponge, thread, and such like toilette requirements of the Prænestine ladies. These little *étuis*, if we may so term them, are found of various forms, but generally of a similar internal arrangement. They occur, with many other little reliques, in these remarkable bronze cylindrical vessels known by the name of *cistæ mysticæ*. This mysticity, however, has been much abated since Padre Garrucci has shown, pretty conclusively, that they contained the usual equipments of a Sabine lady’s bath. These eists are generally ornamented with outline engraving, representing historical or mythological events. Sometimes, as in the case of the two splendid examples in the Kireherian Museum and the Palazzo Barberini, such engravings are of the highest order of Greek art. The handles of the covers of these eists are mostly formed by human figures in various attitudes, and of a very inferior execution.

“The eists have a lining of some kind of pine-wood, which, probably owing to the bronze oxyde, is often found in perfect preservation. Up to 1867 some fifty-four of these vessels had been found. A number of them are in the Barberini library, together with the various reliques they contained. One of these is a large ivory comb, with a bas-relief carving representing Amorini at play. Padre Garrucci is not disposed to consider the eists Etruscan, for they do not occur in Etruria, and assigns their date to the fifth century of Rome.

On various Antiquities from Præneste, Ostia, and Albano.

June 17, 1869. W. M. Wylie, Esq. F.S.A. Local Secretary for Hampshire, exhibited the drawings from which are taken the Plates XXVII. to XXXI. inclusive. Mr. Wylie thus described the various objects there figured :—

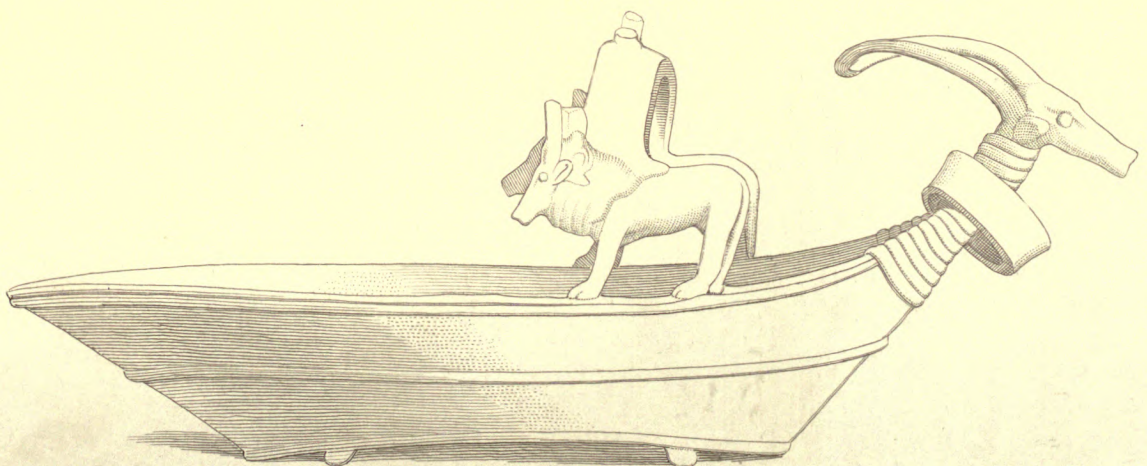
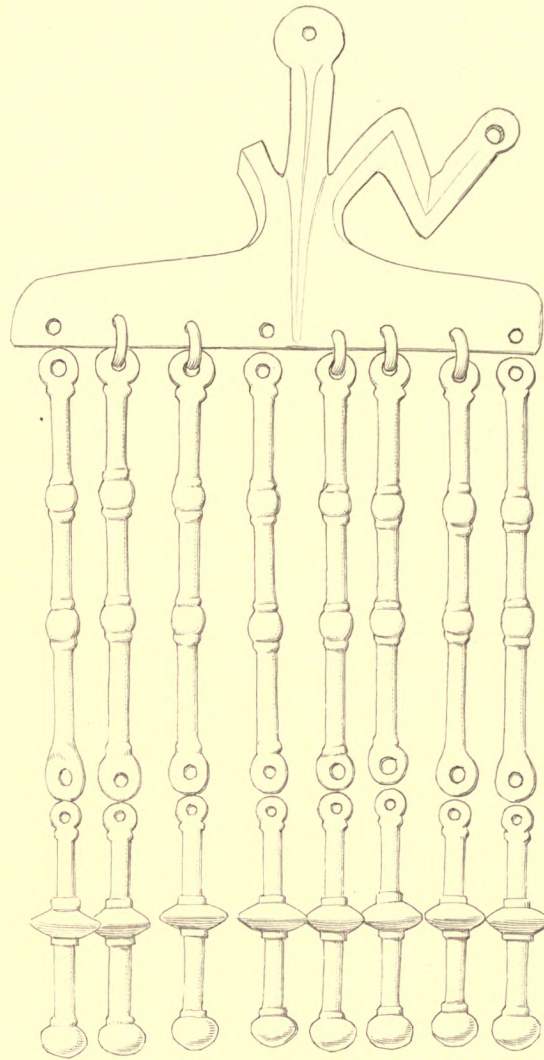
“Plate XXVII. Bronze breast-fibula from the ancient graves at Præneste, which have been described by Padre Garrucci in *Archæologia*, xli. 187 *seqq.* To the pendent chains are attached sundry amuletic objects, one of these being a *bullæ*. These *bullæ* are hollow, and their edges very



WOODEN OBJECTS FROM A BRONZE CIST FOUND AT PRÆNESTE.



BRONZE BREAST FIBULA FROM PRAENESTE.
(full size)



BRONZE FIBULA FROM PRAENESTE, AND LAMP FROM OSTIA.

(size $\frac{3}{4}$)

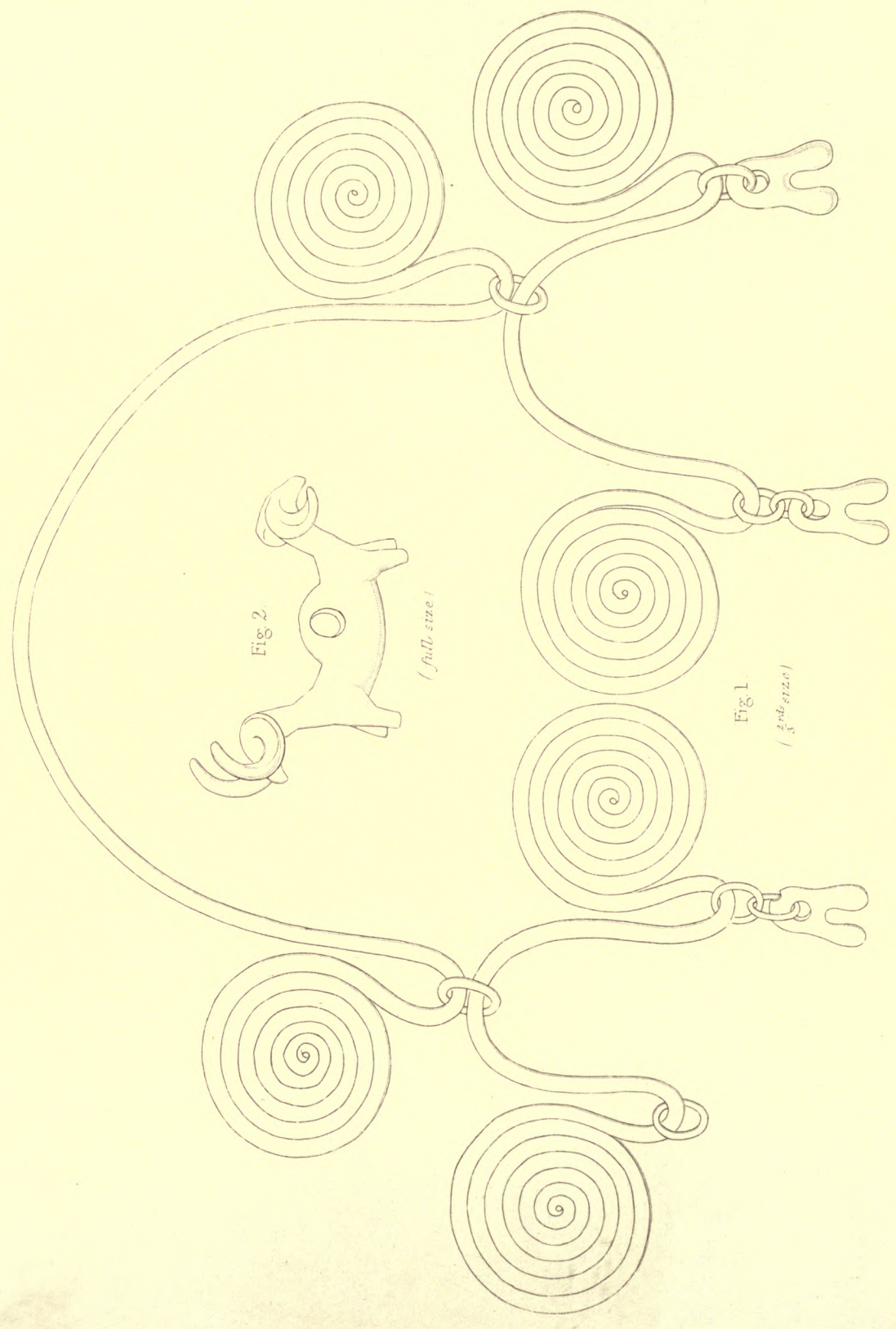
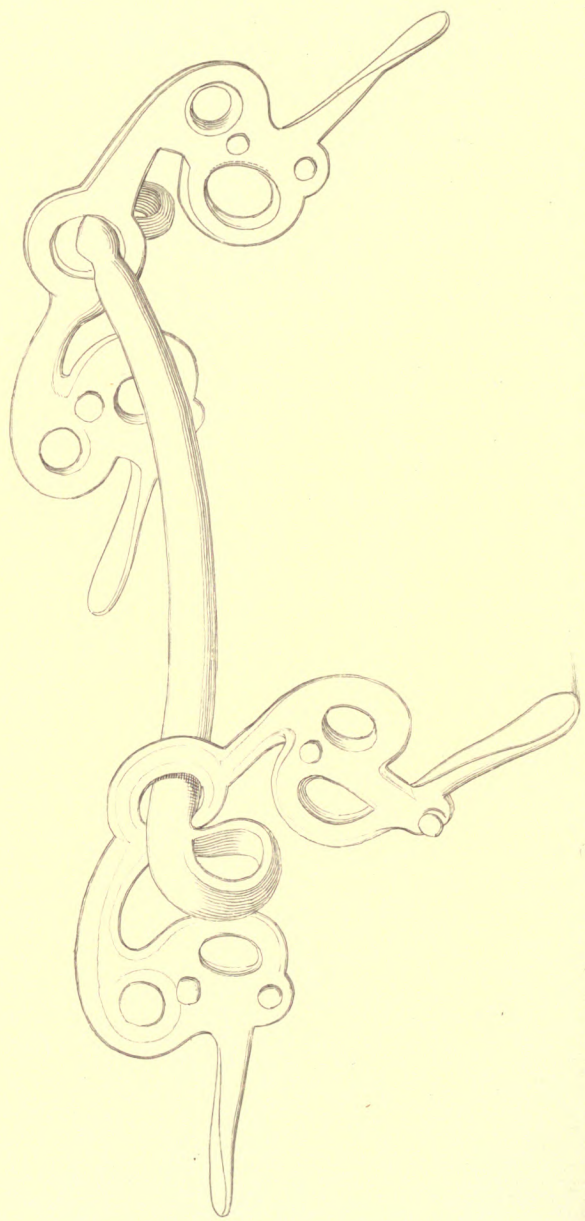
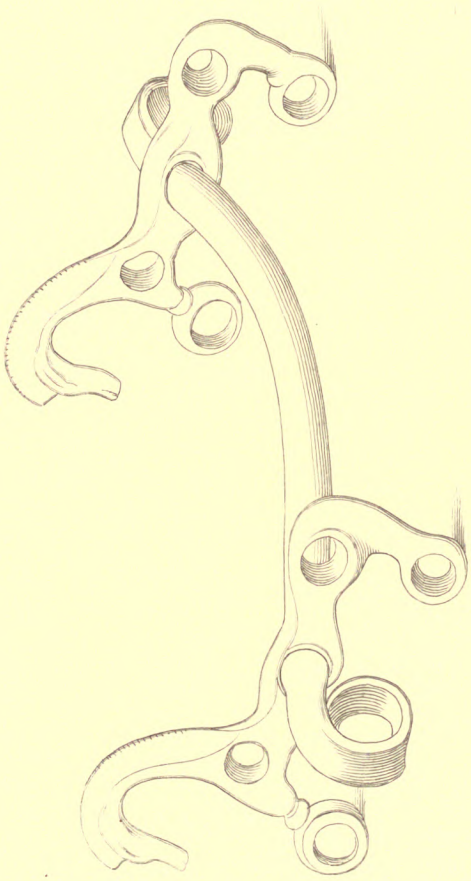


Fig. 2

(full size)

Fig. 1

($\frac{2}{3}$ size)



BRONZE HORSE-BITS FROM CERVETRI (AGYLLA) AND PRAENESTE.

($\frac{2}{3}$ rd size)

Fig. 1.

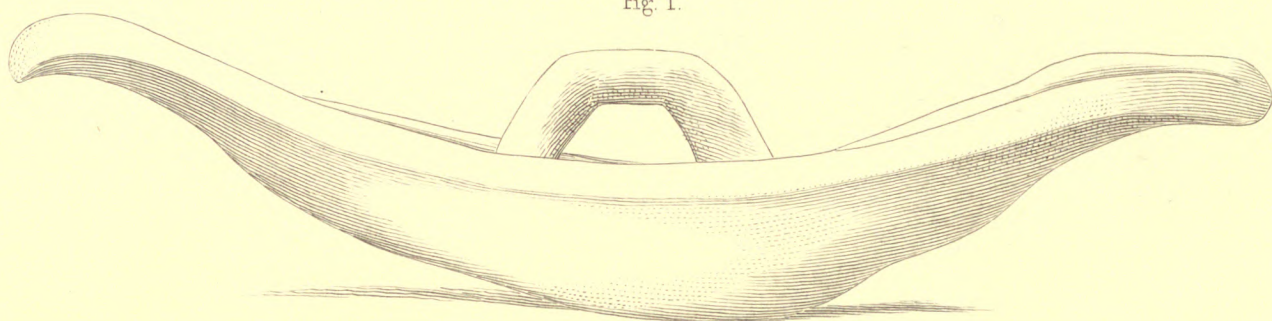


Fig. 3.

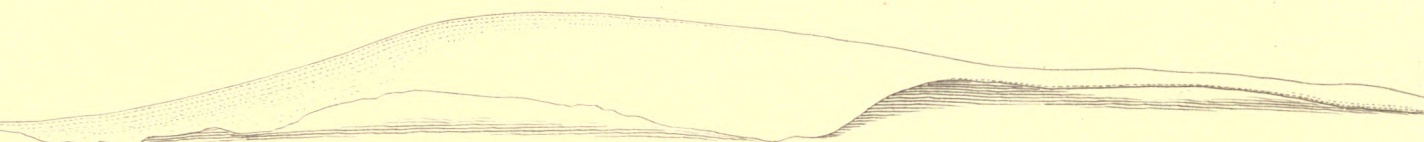
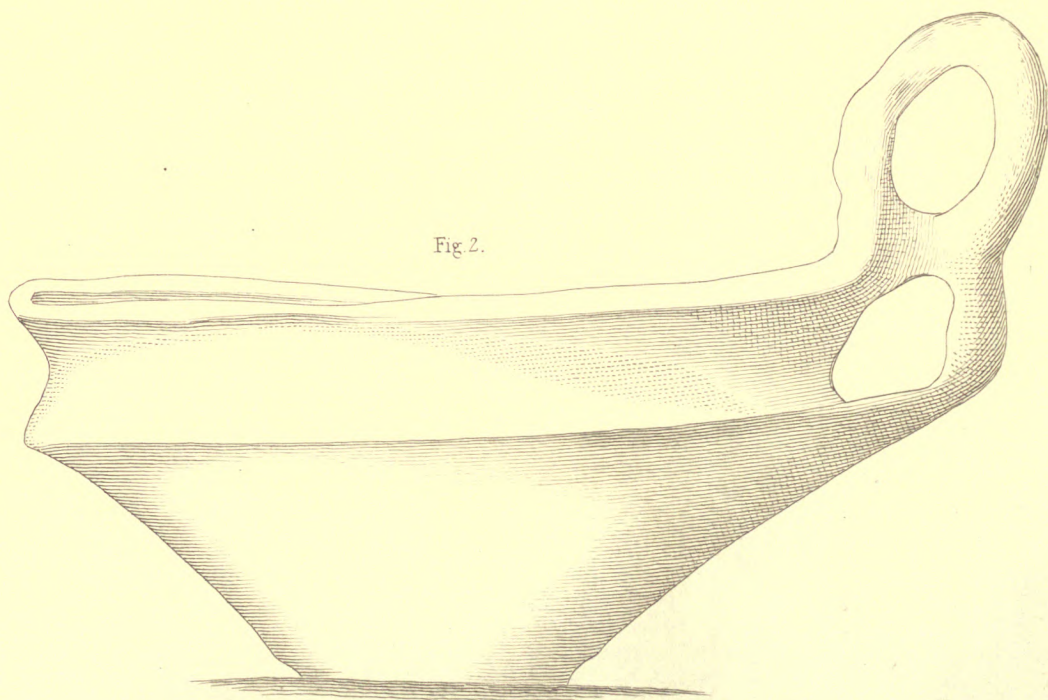


Fig. 2.



EARTHENWARE VESSEL AND LAMP; AND BRONZE KNIFE FROM ALBANO.
(full size)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 1870.

carefully closed. One, opened by Padre Garrucci, was found to contain the withered stem of some plant—perhaps supposed to possess amuletic virtue.

“A similar pendent breast-ornament, but with *bullæ* only on the chains, is engraved in the *Annali del Instituto Archeologico di Roma*, 1854. It was found near the Rhine. Further opportunity for comparison will be found in Von Sacken’s *Grabfeld von Hallstatt*, where many cognate pendants are figured. That in Plate xv. closely resembles the example found near the Rhine.

“Similar examples will also be found described in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii. and Lindensehmit, *Alterthümer*, Band. ii. They are all of the Italo-archaic class.—Size actual.

“Plate XXVIII. fig. 1. Another, but far less elaborate, breast-fibula from Præneste.

“*Ibid.* fig. 2. Bronze lamp, of solid construction, recently discovered at Porto, near the mouth of the Tiber, on the property of Prince Torlonia. It manifestly belongs to the archaic class. Attached to the handle is a small ring of lead.—Size $\frac{2}{3}$ linear.

“Plate XXIX. fig. 1. Bronze relique—apparently the ornamental head-gear of a horse. From the Prænestine graves.—Size $\frac{2}{3}$ linear.

“*Ibid.* fig. 2. Small bronze chimæra, formed by the heads of a bull and a ram at either extremity of the body. Compare *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi. plate xxvi. fig. 15. From Cervetri (Agylla).—Full size.

“Plate XXX. Two bronze horse-bits from the ancient graves at Palestrina (Præneste) and Cervetri.—Size $\frac{2}{3}$ linear.

“These reliques also must be attributed to the archaic pre-Etruscan period. The cheek-pieces assume the swan-necked and the equine forms so characteristic of that early period of Italic art.^a

“The objects in Plates XXVII.-XXX. inclusive, are, or were in 1869, in the collection of Signor Augusto Castellani, Rome, who most kindly allowed drawings to be taken for the purpose of engraving.

Plate XXXI.^b Lamp (fig. 1) and vessel (fig. 2) of earthenware, baked rather than burned, both full size. These exist in the collection of L. Ceselli, the Roman palæontologist, and were found, together with others, and the bronze knife (fig. 3), in a small cist of *peperino*, at a spot somewhere below Albano. The cist further contained human ashes, and was lying between two beds of *peperino*, which would point to an ancient origin. The rather fine material of these vessels and the well-known type of the accompanying metal knife, however, forbid an attribution to any very remote civilization, though their period may have been pre-historic. The bed of *peperino* above this interment was certainly formed, according to Signer Ceselli’s views, *after* its deposit. But the *peperino* proceeded from the great Latian volcano—the old Mons Albanus, now Monte Cavo—which is immediately adjacent. There is, perhaps, reason to suppose this volcano to have continued in activity to a very late period. At least Livy’s repeated mention of such *prodigia* as strange sounds proceeding from the Alban mount, the showers of stones, and the irregular action of the waters of the lake, would point to the last throes of an expiring volcano.^c

^a See Von Sacken’s *Grabfeld von Hallstatt* passim.

^b For this plate the Society has to thank Mr. Wylie, who has caused it to be engraved at his own expense.

^c See Pigorini and Lubbock, *Notes on Hut-urns*, &c. *Archæologia*, xlii. pp. 99-123; and see *Archæologia*, xxxviii. 189.

“The interment probably belonged to the old Umbrian population, who seem, in Rome at least, to be looked upon as the earliest inhabitants of the country. The vessels that accompany it hence appear to possess considerable interest from their resemblance to other archaic examples, in bronze, found in Germany and elsewhere, which are supposed to have an Italic origin. Two such will be found figured in Lindenschmit's *Alterthümer*.^a One of these was discovered in Lüneburg, and the other in Hesse-Darmstadt. The British Museum possesses others from the exceedingly ancient Polledrara tombs at Vulei. The same collection also contains a lamp and vessel, in earthenware, very similar to the examples in our Plate, and from the same locality. It is not unreasonable to infer that this type was followed in the subsequent bronze manufacture, and that the vessels conveyed by commerce to the wilds of Germany also proceeded from the early civilisation of an Umbrian *atelier*.

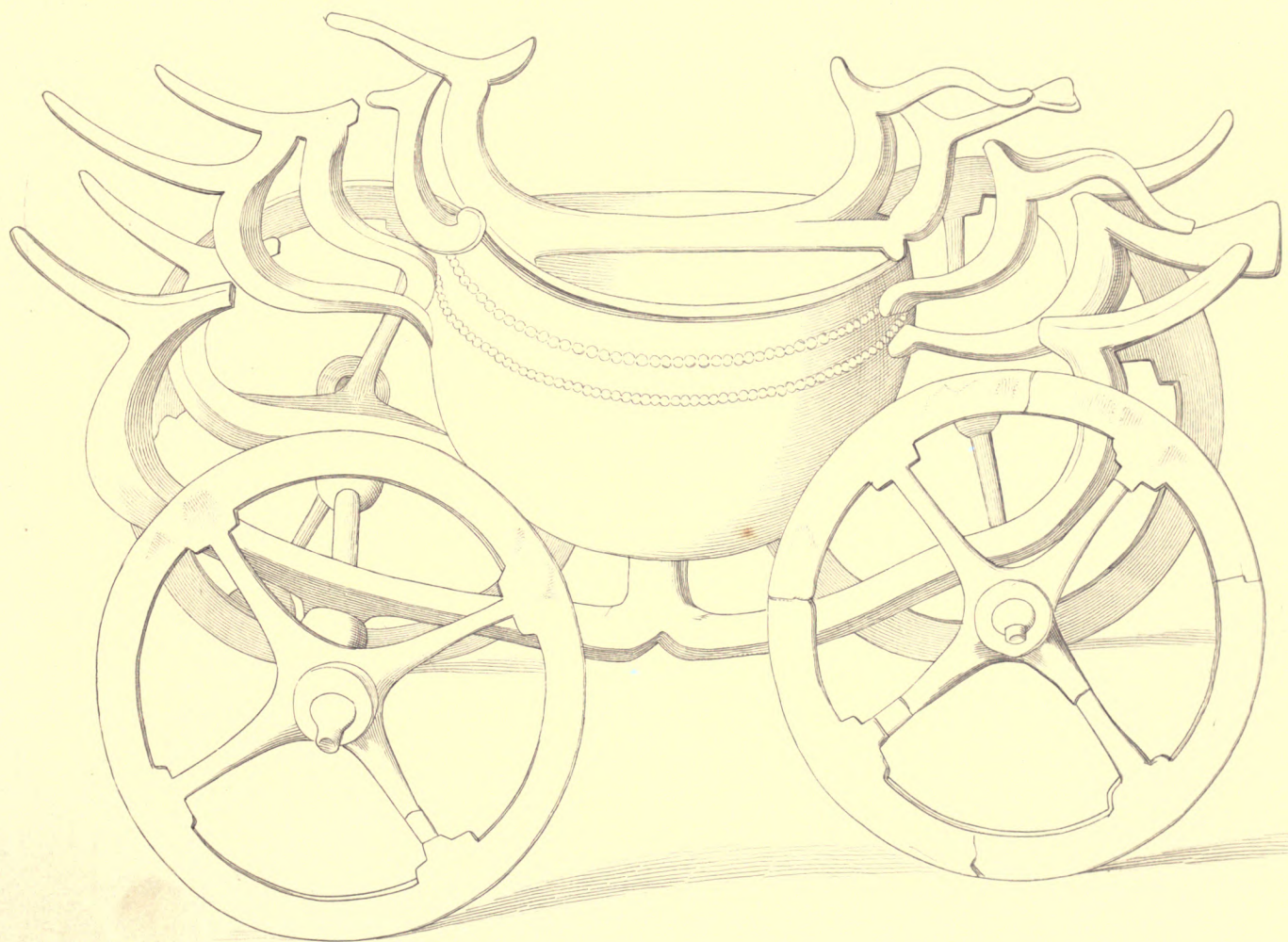
On an Archaic Bronze Car from Transylvania.

Feb. 4th, 1869. W. M. Wylie, Esq. F.S.A. Local Secretary for Hampshire, communicated a notice of an archaic bronze found in Transylvania, of which he exhibited a sketch. This object is now engraved full size in Plate XXXII. Mr. Wylie's remarks on this object are printed in the *Proceedings* (2 S. iv. 232). They are here repeated in substance :—

“In the Vienna museum is preserved one of those remarkable bronze wheeled vessels—waifs from a very remote antiquity—the certain origin and purpose of which still remain one of the mysteries of archaeology. It was found in the province of Transylvania; under what circumstances I know not. No record of its discovery appears to exist, except that it became the property of the museum in about the year 1832. The kindness of the Baron E. von Sacken has furnished me with the means of laying a full-sized sketch of this relique before the Society.

“It consists of a closed bowl, or cauldron, resting on a four-wheeled carriage. Some damage has occurred to one of the wheels, possibly from the pickaxe of the finder, but, with this exception, it is in perfectly good condition. It is of a somewhat light-coloured bronze, but, strange to say, the axles are of iron. The bowl, or rather cauldron, rests on a stout stem springing from the carriage, and on to this upright stem it is riveted—not soldered. The wheels are four-spoked, and by no means of the rude description so usual with this kind of relique. The spokes taper away downwards from the axles, and terminate in a kind of base, or step, on the felloes. The double carriage-frame terminates at either end in the head and neck of some aquatic bird, which is a very favourite form of the period. Similar forms project from the cauldron itself. There are twelve of these in all, and of such rude execution that the intention of the artist may rather be said to be designated than actually carried out. This is no uncommon circumstance in such archaic works, as is well known to the student. The torted rods which form the frame-work of the bronze and

^a Band ii. Heft 3, Taf. 5. Also compare Worsäe's *Afbildningen*, 218, Broncealderen; and Madsen.



BRONZE CAR FOUND IN TRANSYLVANIA.

(full size)

iron andirons found in the great Regolino-Galassi tomb at Cære terminate just in the same way, in rudely designated swan's heads.^a The double swan-head, without a body, also occurs as an ornamental design round the very remarkable bronze shields discovered in the tumulus of Kleinglein in Styria, and now in the Gratz Museum.^b

"This cauldron, with its ear, certainly belongs to the same class of antiquities as the somewhat larger bowl and ear found in 1843 in a tumulus at Peccatel in Mecklenburg, which are now in the Schwerin Museum.^c The Peccatel bowl, however, has torted handles, and those zones of pointed knobs so frequently seen in the more archaic examples of Italic art. Such are remarkably defined in the reliques of Vulci and Præneste, as also in the cognate vessels of Hallstatt.^d Our ear has considerable analogy with a wheeled object, supporting bird-forms, found at Frankfort-on-Oder in 1851.^e

"What may have been the purpose of this and other analogous reliques it is altogether impossible to decide, till we obtain very much further information. Such objects are exceedingly rare, and we can only surmise that they were in some way connected with the rites of some ancient faith, perhaps as *ex voto* offerings. Their small size would show them to have been purely symbolic of something more vast and magnificent, which the donor could not attain to. Such vast bronze or copper bowls, or cauldrons, appear to have been much coveted of old. Of this we have sufficient evidence in the accounts of the brazen vessels of Solomon's Temple; and of similar ones recorded by Herodotus, whether Lacedæmonian, Scythic, or Samian.^f If tradition will not suffice, we have positive ocular demonstration of the fashions of those days in the copper cauldrons from the archaic tombs of Præneste,^g Cære,^h and other places.

"Nor is it more easy to decide as to the country which furnished these reliques. Their extreme rarity, and the manner in which they are scattered, at such wide intervals, over so vast an extent of Europe, forbid our supposing them to have been a production of those lands where they were discovered. On the other hand, they have so many points of agreement with the antiquities of Central and Lower Italy as to induce a belief they are of old Italic origin. Italy, indeed, seems to have been at all periods the workshop of the arts, even in their earliest infancy. It is not then unjustifiable to suppose these, at present so inexplicable reliques, to have proceeded from the seat of European civilisation, and become diffused abroad by means of commerce."

^a Canina, *Etruria Marittima*, vol. i. tav. lix. fig. 6; Grifi, *Monumenti di Cære Antica*, tav. iv. fig. 5.

^b *Mittheilungen des Hist. Vereins für Steiermark*. 10^{tes} Heft, pl. ii. Also on a shield figured in Worsäe's *Afbildninger*, 149, Broncealderen; and in Madsen.

^c *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi. pl. xxvi.

^d Von Sacken, Grabfeld von Hallstatt.

^e *Archæologia*, loc. cit.

^f *Clio*, 70. *Thalia*, 43. *Melp.* 81.

^g In *Archæologia*, vol. xli. cited from Barberini Collection.

^h Canina, *Etruria Marittima*. Museo Gregoriano.

On an Archaic Bronze Car lately brought to light in Rome.

December 2nd, 1869. W. M. Wylie, Esq. F.S.A. Local Secretary for Hampshire, exhibited a tracing from a drawing of the car which is represented, full size, in the Plate XXXIII. For the copper-plate from which this engraving is printed the Society of Antiquaries is again indebted to the liberality of Mr. Wylie. The following is his brief account of the remarkable object in question :—

“The Plate represents an archaic bronze car which has lately appeared at Rome, and for a drawing of which we are indebted to the kindness of Padre Garrucci. No particulars of its discovery are obtainable, but it probably comes from Southern Italy.

“Though differing from all known examples of the class, it still presents a certain analogy with the very remarkable bronze car found at Judenburg, Styria, and now in the Gratz Museum.^a

“Much of our car is evidently wanting, but the existing frame-work would seem to have once supported a platform, probably covered with symbolic figures, as in the case of the Judenburg car.

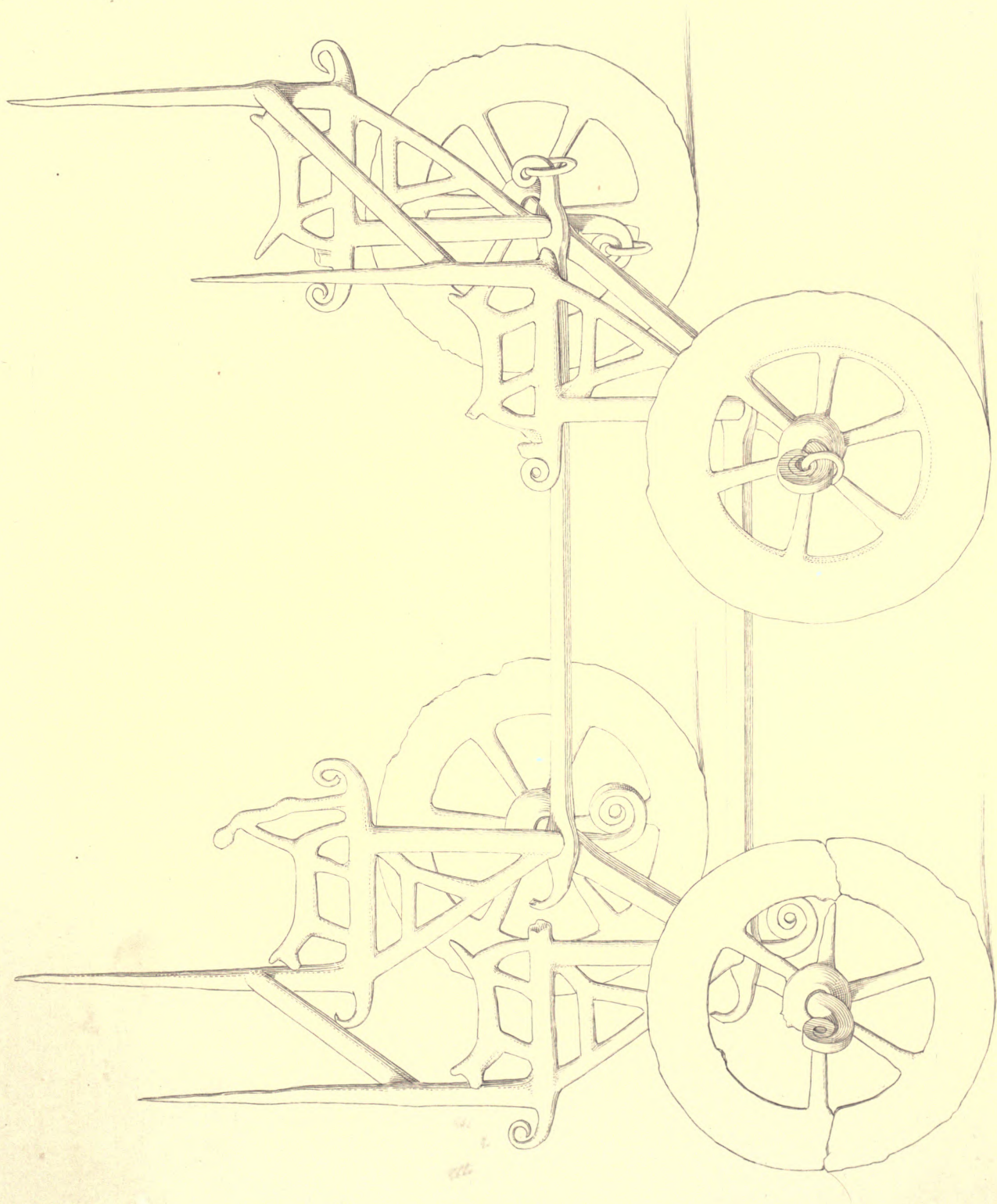
“Examples of these archaic bronze cars still continue rare. There can scarcely be a doubt as to their Italian origin, or that they are to be regarded as *ex voto* offerings of ancient cults, which found their way over Europe by the various channels of commerce which have at all times existed.

“It may be useful to recite such known examples as :—

- I. The bowl, found at Peccatel, Mecklenburg, now in the Schwerin Museum.
- II. The find at Frankfort-on-Oder.
- III. The Judenburg car, now in the Gratz Museum.
- IV. The find at Radkersburg, now at Schloss Freudenau, Styria.
- V. The Lucera bronze from Southern Italy, now in the Ashmolean Museum.

“Representations of most of these, and of other analogous reliques, enrich the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi. plates xxvi. xxvii. and vol. xli.”

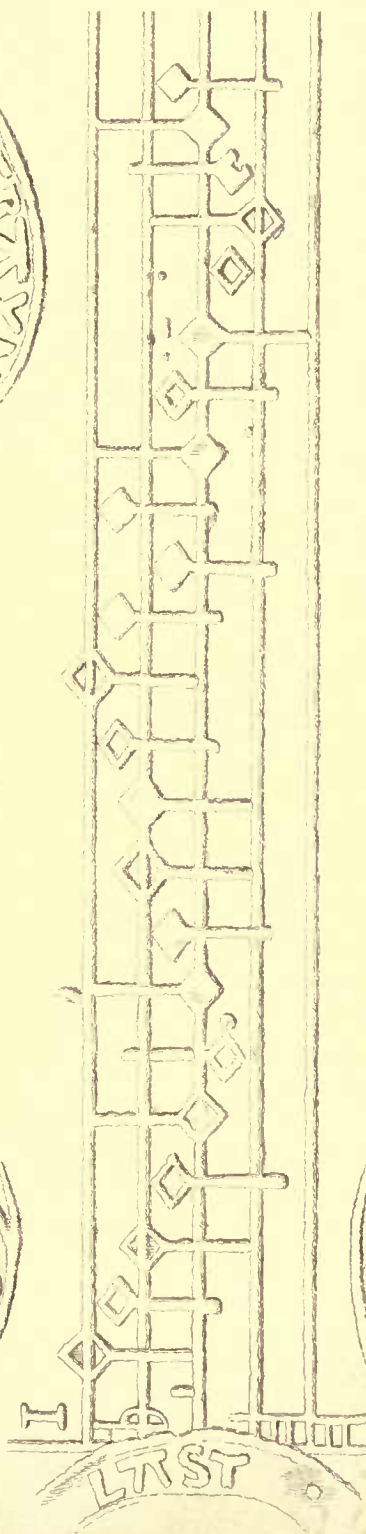
^a *Archæologia*, xxxvi. plate xxvi. fig. 5; *Mittheilungen des Hist. Vereins für Steiermark*, 3^{tes} Heft.



ARCHAIC BRONZE CAR.
(full size)



18 19



18 19



*The last
strayne is good.*

*Keepe tyme
in anye case.*

*Then lett vs
singe it againe*

*Wett songe my
barts. Exccellent*

The musical score is written on ten staves. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a single line. The second staff continues the melody. The third staff continues the melody. The fourth staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a single line. The fifth staff continues the melody. The sixth staff continues the melody. The seventh staff continues the melody. The eighth staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of one flat (B-flat), and a common time signature (C). The melody is written in a single line. The ninth staff continues the melody. The tenth staff continues the melody. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and bar lines.

A Musical Inscription on the fourth Bell at St. Mary's, Oxford.

Dec. 17th, 1868. The Rev. J. T. Fowler, F.S.A. communicated the following remarks on a Musical Inscription on the fourth bell at St. Mary's, Oxford :—

“ On the 6th of June in last year I had the pleasure of exhibiting to the Society rubbings of a most curious Musical inscription on the fourth bell at St. Mary's, Oxford. A short notice of this exhibition is contained in the third vol. of the Society's Proceedings, p. 513, from which I quote the following description.

“ Round the crown of the bell is the legend—

+ Be · yt · knowne · to · all · that · doth · me · see · that · Newcombe · of · Leicester · made · mee · 1612.

“ The music comprises four detached pieces, looking like the parts of a harmonised composition. They are written in square notes on the five-line staff, each part headed by a distinct cleff, apparently the *Cantus*, *Medius* (possibly *Tenor*), *Altus*, and *Bassus*. Each division is preceded by a roundel, containing a man's profile and bust in relief, in the dress of the period, and eneiroid by a legend, as follows :— 1. + KEEPE · TYME · IN · ANYE · CASE. 2. THE · LAST · STRAYNE · WAS · GOOD. 3. THEN · LETT · VS · SINGE · IT · AGAINE. 4. EXCELENT · WELL · SONGE · MY · HARTS. Without a more accurate cast of this inscription, it would be almost impossible to score the music.

“ Since these notes were made, I have obtained two casts of the inscription from different moulds and also another rubbing. By carefully collating these I have succeeded in making a transcript in the old notation, from which, with the kind and valuable assistance of Dr. Rimbault, I have made out the score copy which I now exhibit. The music is very quaint and beautiful in its way, in the style of the Elizabethan Madrigals. It may have been an exercise for *sol fa* practice or for the viols, well known to some of the societies of ringers at the time, and perhaps a “Fancy” if not a composition of Newcombe the bell-founder. Many of his class were sufficiently well skilled in priek-song to write in this style, as, for example, the father of Milton, who was a scrivener. Or it may have come from the donor or donors of the bell, about whom however nothing is known. The parish records have been searched in vain for anything relating to the casting of this bell. It has been suggested that the intention was for a party of musicians to perform the music standing round the bell; but this could not be while the bell was hung, at any rate, on account of the frame concealing a good deal of the notation.

“ Dr. Rimbault found great difficulty in scoring some parts of the composition on account of the number of false dots, lines, &c. as it stands on the bell, but his knowledge of the part-writing of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has enabled him to produce an intelligible and no doubt a substantially correct version.

“ My attention was directed to this bell some time ago by a notice of it in Lukis's ‘Account of Church Bells,’ in which is a plate representing half of the music, and only two of the roundels are mentioned. It may perhaps be interesting to some to know that the old ‘Tom of Lincoln’ was cast by this same celebrated founder in conjunction with Henry Holdfield of Nottingham two years previously, and that the same rhyming inscription is found on the fifth bell at St. Mary's,

which was cast at the same time as the music bell, and also on many bells in various parts of the kingdom."

Plate XXXIV. represents in full size the four Roundels mentioned by Mr. Fowler as preceding the four parts of this curious musical composition, together with a portion of the music in facsimile.

The whole of the music, as transcribed by Mr. Fowler and Dr. Rimbault, will be found in Plate XXXV.; the character of the notation being preserved as nearly as possible, though on a reduced scale.

The score in a compressed form and in modern notation is here subjoined:—

MUSIC FROM BELL AT OXFORD, IN SHORT SCORE.

THE FIRST STRAIN.

THE SECOND STRAIN.

a Defective in original.

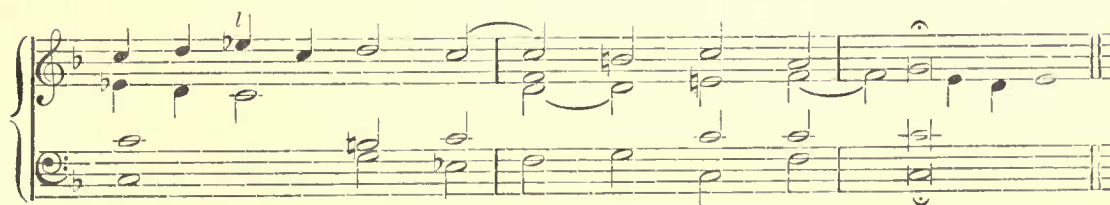
b This note and the following not in the original.

c Semibreve in original.

d Defective in original.



THE THIRD STRAIN.



e Very defective here in original.

f Minim in original.

g Minim in original.

h It has been necessary to lengthen this note.

i Minim in original.

k Defect in original here.

l Flat not in original.

NOTE.—A composition of this kind cannot conveniently be printed in short score so as to preserve throughout the distinction of the several parts. This may, however, be ascertained from the original notation in Plate XXXV.

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MEMORANDUM. ON MR. SCHARF'S NOTES ON A PICTURE OF THE CHILDREN OF PHILIP KING OF CASTILE (PP. 245—257),

By inadvertence, at p. 249, Mr. Wornum's publication of the Inventory of Royal Pictures in 1547 has been described as "without change or comment." Mr. Scharf wishes to correct this by stating that the learned editor has modernised the spelling, supplied punctuation, and added illustrative footnotes to the text. It was printed direct from the manuscript in the British Museum, quite independently of any other publication. The word "reprint," at p. 252, should consequently be altered to "edition."

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